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Lilov Opens Roundtable Talks

AU1203145090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1404 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council Presidium, at roundtable talks in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, ladies and gentlemen, with your permission I will not dwell on either the reasons for or the decision for the temporary interruption of the roundtable talks. I think that the period we are just experiencing is difficult and full of visible and hidden obstacles. It is important to overcome them quickly and to move forward. Neither will I enumerate the percentage of the texts submitted by various parties that have been preserved in the documents, because all these calculations seem unimportant to me.

The essential issue is an entirely different matter, and this is our view on it:

The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] attaches great importance to the resumption of the roundtable's work. This, in our opinion, is a positive day for the country's current political life. This is a good day, because it means that we are pursuing the policy of dialogue, it means political common sense is prevailing over political passions, it means strengthening the confidence that Bulgaria will continue to follow its own unique path toward democracy, the path of peaceful transition, the path of dialogue, and the path of the joint efforts of all social and political forces in the country.

Our party also attaches great importance not only to the resumption of work, but also to the enhancement of the roundtable's role and status. The democratic process in our country requires the contribution of the all-political roundtable forum, and we will do everything in our power to further increase this contribution in order to make it competent, purpose-oriented, and useful for the people.

I consider the signing of the three documents that have been prepared as an important success. I think that we could describe these documents as the first results of the roundtable. May those who read and criticize the documents not be maximalists. Let them be realists and democrats. The first steps are the most difficult, but also the most important ones. We see that the roundtable is no longer merely a place of political polemics, but also a place where important political documents are conceived, on the basis of sensible compromises. I welcome this new stage in the roundtable's work and express our hope that it will characterize its future work and will restore the citizens' and the public's confidence in it.

Comrades, I think that we, all the participants in the roundtable, can congratulate ourselves on this success. The three documents we signed are evidently a result of the prolonged and intense efforts of all participants, and also a result of their good will.

The documents in question provide evidence of the fact that the roundtable can be effective in the current difficult political situation that has emerged in our country. Now that these documents are available to us, we should by all means look forward and see where we are going. All three documents are important and urgent. They represent great opportunities and chances for the changes that have occurred and are still going on in our country. I think that I will be speaking for the majority of Bulgarian citizens when I say that the most important question of all is the question of the peaceful transition to a democratic political system in Bulgaria. I think that in this respect, we signed a very positive document. All sides at this roundtable should assume in all seriousness the obligations that arise for them from the document.

In this connection, I would like to point out a few of these obligations that, in our view, are of crucial importance for the implementation of this peaceful transition. I am talking about the commitment, mentioned in the national agreement, that all sides should show the tolerance required by every civilized and democratic society as regards the convictions and opinions of their opponents. I will cite a passage from our document, which says: The sides should guarantee mutual noninterference in their political activities, they should prevent and halt all cases of violence, and should assume political and moral responsibility for incorrect actions and behavior of their members and supporters [words indistinct].

I would also like to declare that our side intends strictly to implement the commitments it has assumed. I do not doubt that the other parties and movements that are sitting at the roundtable have the same intention. At the same time, we share the common concern of our public at certain events that are increasing tension in our country and that have manifested themselves throughout the last week in particular. In this context, the document we have adopted is a test of our civilized behavior. With this document, the forces of law and order and the local authorities have been given an unmistakable political assignment. It is our task at the roundtable to contribute to the peaceful development of the democratic process in Bulgaria.

The second question that is of exceptional importance, in our view, is the question of the future of our economy. We are all convinced that this is an issue that transcends the parties, it is a nationwide issue. For these reasons the roundtable is required, as soon as possible, to reach a minimum consensus that will give an impetus to the solution of our country's most urgent and crucial economic problems. We need conditions and prerequisites that will permit us to discuss various alternatives without sliding toward chaos and economic disaster. It should be well understood that the current lack of action and the prevalence of political passions actually represents a destabilizing factor. This is precisely why, for the sake of the fate of our people, from now on we are no longer permitted to postpone the discussion of these vitally important issues any longer.

We are expecting free elections. These, without doubt, will increase our people's activities. We must see to it that these activities do not produce a deterioration of the economic situation. In addition, taking into consideration the general political situation, we need a fully active parliament to appoint a strong and responsible government that will adopt the laws without which we would be virtually unable to establish a state governed by the rule of law and the civic society to which we all so eagerly aspire.

In the current stage of coping with important economic and political tasks, a great role is assigned to the mass media. Today we should very seriously consider their transformation into a factor assisting the democratic process and its peaceful development. The mass media today fulfill a social function that could perhaps be compared with that of the political forces within the country. For precisely this reason we are obliged to guarantee their principled and constructive work. It is very important that the mass media not fan political passions, but impartially report on current events in accordance with their journalistic sense of responsibility and moral standards.

The questions of national consensus and national security are of vital importance for our society both now and in the future. These are issues that transcend the parties and on which all speculations should be excluded in our political life. We are justifiably concerned about the actions of certain forces that are trying to breed insecurity and fear in our society. These are not accidental events, and historical experience has taught where they could lead us.

The only reliable way to struggle against such manifestations is the categorical stand of all our public, of each individual citizen, in favor of building a barrier against such actions, and this applies to the authorities of law and order in particular. We should admit that, despite the fact that the recent changes considerably affected these organs, they continue to display their high professional qualities and keen sense of responsibility. I believe that it is our common duty, it is the duty of all our society, to support these organs in their difficult tasks in this period.

Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, permit me to close my statement by expressing gratitude to all participants in the roundtable who contributed with their joint efforts to overcoming the deadlock in which the roundtable talks were trapped. I think that time became a strict but fair teacher for all of us, and it depends on all of us whether we worthily respond to the expectations of our public.

Today Bulgaria more than ever needs stimulants for democracy. It needs correct methods for achieving democracy. It needs democracy in political life. Our party hopes that the roundtable will play an important role in finding these political values that are so important for Bulgaria.

Thank you.

Accords Signed

AU1203152590 Sofia BTA in English 1443 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Official Authorities, Opposition Reach Agreement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—At a resumed session of the national roundtable talks today, the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces signed an agreement on the political system, a national accord on a peaceful transition to a democratic political system and a declaration on the role and the status of the national roundtable talks. Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, described the act as "historic".

Further on Agreements

AU1303082190 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—The participants in the roundtable signed today an agreement on the political system, a national agreement for guaranteeing the peaceful development of the transition to a democratic political system and a declaration on the national roundtable role and statute.

The leaders of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), and the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) positively assessed the signing of the documents. The SDS chairman Zhelyu Zhelev called it a historical act, as for the first time after 45 years the official authorities and the political opposition have signed agreements. Mr Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the BZNS, saw in this act "a useful step." The two delegations participants expressed some reservations regarding the documents.

The agreement on the political system indicates that the country needs a peaceful transition to the democratic social structure. The political system should guarantee all international rights and freedoms of man, social justice and solidarity of all citizens and political forces in the protection of supreme interests of the people and the country. The common desire is to build a civil society.

The acceleration and deepening of democratization with the adequate participation of all political forces is considered to be a prerequisite for coming out of the grave economic, political and intellectual crisis. The documents stress the need that elections should take place by the end of the first half of the year with the equal participation of all political parties.

The citizens rights and freedoms, in compliance with international documents, signed by Bulgaria, the national sovereignty, realized by a parliament elected by free and competitive elections, division of power, multiparty system, the guaranteeing of equality in all forms

of ownership, are considered to be the basic elements of the democratic and humane political system.

The agreement includes the forthcoming urgent legislative measures. It points at the clauses in the draft laws for amendment and addenda of the constitution and the political parties, on which the round table participants have reached agreement. The draft laws will be introduced at the forthcoming National Assembly session. They are to be discussed by the roundtable. In case there is consensus at a plenary session the roundtable recommendations and proposals will be introduced in the National Assembly. The roundtable expresses agreement with the main clauses of the Radio and TV Statute and will nominate people for their leaderships.

The agreement says that the roundtable will propose the Government to adopt statutory acts by which to make habitual the voicing of the property and annual income of leading state and social figures, of political parties and public organizations. A draft law will be discussed for guaranteeing the security of the state, social order, rights and interests of the citizens. It is recommended that this draft law includes procedures, enabling the citizens to become acquainted with the information in their personal files.

The national roundtable stood for equal conditions for the preelection campaign of the political parties. Representatives from the USSR, the United States, the FRG, France, Italy, Britain, Canada, Finland, Austria, as well as from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the Interpaliamentary Union will be invited for the election, the document reads.

The participants in the roundtable engage themselves in front of the entire Bulgarian people, not to use in their whole political activity offensive methods and means, not to preach and threaten by any kind of force whatsoever, and not to allow the origination of disorders and chaos in the country.

In the national agreement signed by them, for guaranteeing the peaceful development towards a democratic political system, it is stressed that the political juxtaposing will be in the form of competition of ideas, platforms and programs, that they will show tolerance for the convictions and opinions of opponents.

The common desire is stressed towards the achievement of agreement through a constructive dialogue, for guaranteeing the mutual noninterference in the activity of the individual political forces. It will not be possible to use the press and the other mass media for political provocations and instigation of violence.

The issues are also raised about the political forces' moral responsibility for illegal acts of their members and adherents.

The roundtable participants demand that there will be greater responsibility of the law protecting bodies responsible for social order, for avoiding attempts to exert pressure both against political leaders, as well as against individual citizens, for confiscation of illegally possessed weapons.

With the adopted declaration the roundtable is rendered an exclusive role and statute [status]. Its task is to achieve concrete agreements as a necessary political prerequisite for the solution of vital political, legislative and socioeconomic issues. They are related mainly with the abolition of the totalitarian structures and democratization of society. The roundtable participants are obliged to use their representations in the legislative and executive bodies, as well as their social influence, in order to ensure the fulfillment of the adopted agreements.

The declaration says about the national roundtable role and statute, that the roundtable presents the real political and social forces in this country and that its origination is a result of the understanding that the institutions in this country can fulfill their tasks only in the conditions of national concord, of agreement between the different social forces.

The Green Party leader, Aleksandur Karakachanov, of the SDS delegation, "expressed reservation" and stressed that the agreement is a compromise. His objections are related to the principle of building of the basic party organizations. Due to differences of opinions the roundtable work was interrupted for a long time. The SDS insisted that the organizations should be built only on a residence basis while the document named the territorial principle, which allows the establishment of clubs according to professional interests. The opposition feared that these clubs can turn to be disguised former workplace organizations.

In spite of that, as well as some other fears, the opposition thought that almost all of its initial demands were observed in the agreement. Zhelyu Zhelev said that this is not a defeat over the ruling circles, but a success for all democratic forces. He presented the round table talks resumption also as a result of the insistence of the SDS adherents, who participated in impressive rallies and other initiatives in the week of protest, and of the initiators' efforts. The document for the peaceful transition to a democratic society was adopted after the BCP proposal while the SDS leaders stressed that this has always been their belief. The opposition cannot threaten the peaceful transition by anything. "We are a democratic alternative of the regime which is going away," Zhelyu Zhelev said.

At today's discussion the SDS stance was expressed again that there should be elections of a Constituent National Assembly. Mr Aleksandur Lilov, who took the roundtable co-chairmanship thought that after the elections the Parliament should appoint a strong and responsible government. The participants agreed that it is necessary, as early as possible, to go towards consideration of economic problems, too. They agreed that at the

next session, set for March 15, they will take up with that. The government anticrisis program will be considered. The SDS engaged itself to make a proposal of its own program of economic measures.

National Assembly Session To Convene 28 Mar

AU1203183290 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—The State Council convenes the Ninth National Assembly 16th Session on March 28, 1990.

National Commission on TV, Radio Meets

AU1203212690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] At its constituent meeting today, the newly established Parliamentary-Social Commission For Television and Radio at the National Assembly examined the new organizational structures and proposals for the management of the two institutions submitted by Pavel Pisarev, chairman of Bulgarian television, and by Aleksandur Batkov, chairman of Bulgarian radio.

Basically, the deputies and public figures who are members of the newly established commission accepted the new structure of Bulgarian television, with the remark that it should be further improved by management.

The requirement for a correct balancing of individual programs and subjects was stressed, and it was pointed out that more broadcasting time should be devoted to television series, films, and theater productions.

Ivan Popyordanov was confirmed as deputy chairman of television. The new organizational structure of Bulgarian television envisions the elimination of the former three chief directorates; four program directorates, three directorates, five chief editorial offices, and five regular deputy chairmen offices.

An economic directorate and a technical directorate have been established and are expected to work in immediate contact with the creative-production team. [passage indistinct]

Weekly programs, such as "Every Sunday," "Panorama," and "Europe" will function as independent units.

The basic rubrics and their contents are expected to be submitted at the next session of the commission to ensure control of programming trends.

The Parliamentary-Social Commission basically approved the organizational structure and management of Bulgarian radio. The new organizational structure gives priority to two main national programs: "Horizont" and "Khristo Botev," to the foreign broadcast program, and to the main service units, namely the musical, technical, and economic departments. The structure takes into consideration the multi-level links between the collective leading organ—the Program Council—and the programs, while the necessary coordination among them is implemented at the central management level.

This makes it possible to avoid intermediate, administrative-management links, such as deputy chairmen offices, chairman's offices, and so forth. The coordination of secondary activities, such as commercials, musical production, music programs, and music performances are expected to be implemented under the control of the chief secretary.

The Parliamentary-Social Commission for Television and Radio adopted a working plan for the period up to 1 June 1990.

Further on National Assembly Session

AU0803113590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Mar 90 p 2

[Report: "First Day of the National Assembly Session]

[Text]

Apartments and Houses Will Be Freely Bought and Sold [subhead]

Every Bulgarian citizen will be able to own an unlimited number of apartments, villas, and other properties, irrespective of their areas and in all towns, villages, spa resorts, and so on. He will be able to sell them to whomsoever he likes and to negotiate any price.

These are the consequences of the draft law on amendments and addenda to the Law on Citizens' Property adopted at the first reading by the National Assembly.

This law, when finally approved, will scrap the restrictions that led to corruption, evasion of the law, a lack of security, and the existence of a ponderous bureaucratic control apparatus.

The law restores man's ancient rights to own, inherit, and bequeath his property.

In the debates, which lasted over an hour, the National Assembly deputies supported the bill's main proposals.

In tandem with the bill, they also examined draft laws on amending the Law on Property and on amending and supplementing the Law on Territorial and Settlement Structure. These bills were approved in principle, but were sent back to the permanent commissions for review and elaboration, in order for them to be adopted at the next National Assembly session.

Nothing New About the Strikes

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria and the Legislative Commission differ in their views at the moment.

Whereas the proposers of the draft law, represented by Professor Krustyu Petkov, defend the viewpoint that the law should settle collective labor disputes in the wide sense, the parliamentary organ, represented by Prof. Vasil Mruchkov, is apparently of the opinion that the bill does not only concern strikes.

There are also differences of opinion on the scope of activities in which the law should prohibit strikes, and on the nature of the conciliation procedures.

The National Assembly, instead of issuing a clear pronouncement on the proposed document, apparently also declared a symbolic strike. Only a handful of deputies raised questions in the debate, and these concerned isolated, unimportant aspects of the problem.

This, together with the refusal of the Union of Democratic Forces and the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation to examine the bill and give their preliminary opinions on it, led to the bill being adopted on the first reading (with two abstentions) and returned to the Legislative Commission for additional attention.

Prisons Removed From Control of Ministry of Internal Affairs

The prisons will be transferred from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Justice. This is the main proposal contained in the draft law on amendments and addenda to the Law on Execution of Punishments.

The deputies adopted the bill in principle. In addition to the change in the subordination of the prisons, the bill includes the following points:

First offenders serve sentences of up to three years for premeditated offenses, and of up to five years for offenses arising from reckless behavior, in hostels of the open type.

First offenders may serve sentences of three to five years for premeditated and all other offenses resulting from reckless behavior in hostels of the semi-open type.

The possibilities will be extended for granting one month's home leave and for working in labor collectives without guards under light supervision. A number of other alleviations are also proposed in prison conditions and solitary confinement.

In all states, with the exception of certain East European countries, the prisons form part of the legal and judicial system. One of the recommendations of the United Nations relating to minimum standard rights of treatment in prisons is that the staff of penal institutions should not form part of the structures of the police and Army.

Compulsory Resettlement Prohibited

The preventative administrative measure of "compulsory settlement in another populated area for a period from one to three years" will no longer be applied. Provided that the National Assembly deputies adopt the draft law on amendments and additions to the Law on the People's Militia on its second reading as well, not only will this undemocratic measure, introduced by State Council decree in 1983, be repealed, but other preventative measures in the present law will also be restricted.

Provision is made for the period during which a person may be prohibited from leaving his place of residence to be reduced from six to three months, and further definitions are made concerning the persons to whom these measures may be applied or not. It is proposed that they should not be applied to pregnant women, mothers with children under 14 years of age, and single fathers responsible for looking after young children.

These amendments to the already obsolete Law on the People's Militia (of 1976) are urgent and necessary. The National Assembly deputies were informed that a new law on the People's Militia is in the course of preparation that will provide comprehensive regulations for the militia's work. Administrative measures such as a prohibition on leaving one's place of residence and placing persons under administrative supervisions are not included in this law.

None of Our Ministers Are Millionaires

At the previous session of the National Assembly, every minister was obliged to complete a declaration on the immovable property and motor vehicles owned by him and the members of his family in Bulgaria and abroad, deposits in Bulgarian and foreign banks, securities (shares, bonds, and so on) held in Bulgarian or foreign banks, companies, and other enterprises, and unredeemed loans from the State Savings Bank and other savings banks.

What did Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov put on his declaration form?

Together with his spouse, he owns:

1. An apartment valued at 43,866 leva.
2. A villa in the village of Mala Tsurkva valued at 14,300 leva.
3. A Skoda Favorit car, purchase price 9,300 leva.
4. A settlement account [razplashtatelna smetka] in the State Savings Bank for 2,581 leva.
5. Deposits in his wife's name: 27,170 leva in the State Savings Bank, and 213 convertible leva in the Bulgarian National Bank.

Here are the declarations of the ministers of national defense and internal affairs.

Dobri Dzhurov, together with his wife, owns:

1. An apartment valued at 28,000 leva.
2. A villa in Dragalevtsi valued at 60,000 leva.
3. A deposit in the State Savings Bank of 10,691 leva.
4. A deposit in his wife's name in the State Savings Bank of 2,055 leva.

Atanas Semerdzhiev owns the following:

1. A residential property valued at 32,301 leva.
2. A villa plot in the territory of the village of Bistritsa valued at 4,100 leva.
3. A VAZ 2103 car, built in 1985, insured value 4,200 leva.
4. A deposit in the State Savings Bank of 5,143 leva.
5. Deposits in the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank of R1,356, 1702 convertible leva, and 275 Cuban pesos.

The bulletin also includes Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov. His family of four (himself, his wife, son, and daughter) own the following:

1. An undeveloped villa plot in the village of Kovachevtsi valued at 2,040 leva.
2. A 1986 Trabant 601 car, insured value 4,045 leva.
3. Deposits:
—in the State Savings Bank, 1,000 leva in his wife's name;
—a housing deposit, 1,456 leva;
—a child's savings deposit in the State Savings Bank in his son's name, 4,200 leva;
—a housing deposit in his son's name, 3,014 leva; and
—a child's savings deposit in the State Savings Bank in his daughter's name, 2,437 leva.

The declaration by Justice Minister Pencho Penev states that his family, consisting of himself, his wife, and two children, owns the following:

1. An apartment valued at 21,682 leva.
2. A deposit in the State Savings Bank of 1,000 leva.
3. A deposit in the State Savings Bank in his wife's name, of 4,062 leva.
4. Liabilities to the State Savings Bank of 9,870 leva.

The property and financial status as of 23 February 1990 of the remaining ministers in the 22-strong cabinet lies within a similar range of values. Their declarations are published in an appendix to Issue No. 2 of the Bulletin of the National Assembly.

Other Measures Adopted

—The National Assembly approved 3 March as the National Holiday, the Day of Bulgaria's Liberation from the Ottoman Yoke.
—The following appointments were approved:

Aleksandur Kharalanov Aleksandrov, as minister for the environment; and

Krustyu Goranov Ankov, as minister of culture.
—It was announced that the National Assembly had received a declaration by the inhabitants of Dimitrovgrad in connection with the serious ecological situation in the municipality. A reply to the questions raised will be given at the next session of parliament, which will probably take place at the end of March.
—National Assembly Deputy Pantaley Pachov handed to the chairman of the National Assembly a report on the united position reached at a "roundtable" meeting held in Plovdiv by 16 political parties, public organizations, and movements concerning the draft law on the political parties.

The session continued late into the night with debates on the draft budget for the country for 1990. Because the session extended beyond the newspaper's printing deadline, we will inform you about the discussion in the next issue.

Plovdiv Opposition Forces Conference Ends

AU1103170490 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Plovdiv, March 11 (BTA)—Bearing in mind that the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] remaining in power will be pernicious for the Bulgarian people, we declare that the first successful step was made towards the building of unity of action of the Bulgarian opposition, reads the common document from the first meeting of the opposition forces in this country, which ended today. The participants in the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS), the political opposition bloc and the parties which are not bound to them, adopted a declaration of the democratic opposition. The declaration says that they are establishing a group which is to prepare proposals about finding ways for unity of action and clearing relations with the democratic parties and organizations in the forthcoming election campaign.

The declaration is signed by representatives of the SDS, which includes 15 parties and organizations, as well as by 11 other parties, six of which are in the political opposition bloc.

The three-day conference ended with statements made by the leaders of different organizations about the necessity of unity of the opposition and the harm of its disunion and opposing to the opposition groups.

The political opposition bloc came with a declaration in which it states its demand for participation in the national roundtable "the political opposition bloc declares its readiness to take constructive participation in the forthcoming sessions, taking the place of a natural ally of the SDS. The parties of the bloc will highly esteem the SDS gesture if it gives them three seats of its own quota at the national roundtable, the document of the six parties reads. A possible agreement on behalf of the SDS will be considered as "an expression of good will in the direction of the opposition uniting." [Quotation marks as received]

The SDS leaders postponed the answer, which can be given after being discussed at the Coordinating Council and once again stressed that the SDS does not have claims to present all opposition groups.

The participants in the conference came with a declaration which reads that the mass media are in debt to the parties and movements which are not members of the SDS.

Some of the parties, represented at the meeting also made declarations on different issues. Thus, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, complained against the "attempts for misappropriation of its name". This refers to groups and currents in the Communist Party, as well as the party itself, in the documents of which they are defined as socialist.

Plovdiv Residents Protest Chemical Plants

AU1203205290 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Civil Disobedience Threat"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Plovdiv, March 12 (BTA)—The residents of a number of population centers in the region of Plovdiv, who flocked to a protest meeting here today to demand the closure of the Non-Ferrous Metal Works and the Agria Combined Chemical Works, adopted a declaration peremptorily urging the government to formally declare the region an ecological disaster area and to act accordingly in future.

The protestors said that if the demands to close down the environment-degrading productions of the two plants are not met by April 12, 1990, the population will launch a civil disobedience action and will blockade the approaches to the two combined works.

Thousands of blue and white-collar workers, students and teachers in Plovdiv, Asenovgrad and the affected area joined the strike declared today by the 10,000 residents of the villages of Kuklen and Brestnik.

Pleven Rally Supports Opposition Newspapers

AU1203220890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] A rally organized by the local branch of the Union of Democratic Forces was held in Pleven tonight. The participants in the rally protested against the limited circulation of the newspapers currently published by the opposition parties.

A request was submitted to the Council of Ministers that the circulation of the daily DEMOKRATSIYA should be expanded to 800,000 copies, and the circulation of SVOBODEN NAROD, the Social Democratic Party organ, should be increased to 500,000 copies.

Official Explains Petroleum Shortage

AU1203164790 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Mar 90 p 3

[Paun Tsonev report: "We Use State Reserves"]

[Text] Will a coupon system for the purchase of gasoline be introduced? This is the main question that thousands of fanatical drivers asked themselves yesterday and the day before, while waiting in the long lines in front of the only 13 gasoline stations that were selling gasoline in Sofia, a city with a population of 1 million citizens. This prompted us to call Iliya Aleksandrov, "Petroleum" State Company deputy director, and ask him the same question. This is what he answered:

"It is well known that gasoline is extracted from crude oil, and it is even better known that we receive the crude oil from the USSR. However, at present our vessels cannot load in the Soviet ports because of the strikes there. The crude oil that is now being refined at the Burgas Petro-Chemical Enterprise comes from Syria and Iran. However, the oil from those countries is transported by supertankers that cannot navigate the Suez Canal and thus must use detours. All this takes 38 days."

Iliya Aleksandrov is convinced that regardless of the problems emerging now, the introduction of restrictions on the purchase of gasoline for private vehicles is completely out of the question. Everything possible is being done to overcome the crisis. Additional sources of imports are being sought. Some 134,000 tons of gasoline have already been taken from the state reserves but must be replaced by 30 June 1990. However, this hardly interests the car drivers. This issue evokes certain concern but is solely the concern of the "Petroleum" employees.

Lukanov Discusses Domestic Market Shortages

AU1203221090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov held a meeting with managers of companies producing mass consumer goods and essential foodstuffs, and with managers of trade organizations, at which the situation of the domestic market was examined.

It was stated that despite the additional amount of goods supplied in January and February 1990, compared with the same period of 1989, the situation on the domestic market is deteriorating.

Numerous basic foodstuffs and consumer goods are in short supply, or are not delivered at all. The recent strikes in the country resulting from certain violations of [words indistinct] have also considerably contributed to this situation.

The commodity producers who attended the meeting submitted a series of crucial problems connected with [word indistinct] production.

The government leader pointed out that the main issue [words indistinct] and at the same time Andrey Lukanov appealed to the participants in the meeting to display greater flexibility and to work more boldly for [last words indistinct]

Interior Ministry Continues To Bug Telephones

AU1203151590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Mar 90 p 1

[Plamen Enchec article: Is the Ministry of Internal Affairs Bugging?"]

[Text] Yes, the Ministry of Internal Affairs continues to bug telephone conversations and to control correspondence. However, this is done only on the basis of a permit issued by the Supreme Court chairman or the chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. In all civilized countries throughout the world, the special security services adopt such measures when the interests of the respective country are threatened. A reply to those questions was given on 8 March at the regular news conference organized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs press center.

The information was imparted by Major General Petur Barbalov, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Operational-Technical Administration. What are this administration's tasks?

First of all, it works against the activities of foreign intelligence services in Bulgaria. It is well known that many diplomatic representations in Bulgaria are loaded with radio electronic devices and are covered with antennas. The Ministry of Internal Affairs uses modern technical means to prevent information leaks from electronic calculating centers and telephone and telex conversations and to control the use of radio communications. The border also is protected by modern electronic systems.

The device for interrupting telephone conversations that was installed in Sofia's international telephone exchange was disconnected in October 1989. Whether the device can be used for "peaceful goals" is now being discussed.

On 7 March, a commission of experts from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces, thoroughly inspected the buildings of the opposition. A joint protocol has been signed. According to this, no bugging or surveillance devices have been found on the premises. Thus the declaration of Minister Semerdzhiev, made at the round-table about one month ago, was confirmed.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs' Operational-Technical Administration can be proud of its contribution to unmasking the perpetrators of the terrorist acts that engulfed our country in 1984. Many terrorists were apprehended and sentenced thanks to the special equipment, the electronic analysis of human voices, and of course, the assistance of other units of the ministry.

Prosecutor, Court on Bugging

AU0903214390 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—In relation with today's publication in RABOTNICHESKO DELO under the heading "Is the Ministry of Interior Bugging", the BTA received an announcement signed by the Chief Prosecutor of the Republic and the Supreme Court chairman. They say that neither the Constitution nor other normative documents permit them to bug phone talks or control correspondence.

It is said that according to Article 51 of the Constitution the secrecy of correspondence and phone talks is inviolable, except in cases of mobilization, martial law or other permission by the court or the prosecutor.

On the basis of this constitutional regulation, Article 139 of the Penal Code explicitly states that the detention or seizing of postal or telegraph correspondence is done only with the permission of court or the prosecutor, i.e. the court which is considering a specific case or the prosecutor who is leading and supervising the investigation concerning a certain case. This cannot be done by the head of the respective court or of the Prosecutor's Office.

The announcement recalls that the Bulgarian legislature makes no provision that the legal and prosecutor's bodies can permit the bugging of the citizens' and officials' phone talks.

Fatherland Front Declaration on Law on Names

AU1203113790 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Declaration of the Fatherland Front National Council on the Law on Names"]

[Text] On 5 March, the National Assembly adopted the Law on the Names of Bulgarian Citizens. This is the first practical step of our legislative organ in implementing the Declaration on the Nationality Issue. A historical injustice has been corrected and a human right—the right to have a name—guaranteed.

Justice dictated that the law provide for a simplified and legally guaranteed procedure for restoring the names of Bulgarian citizens in respect of whom coercion was applied in 1984-85, as well as the names of all those forced to change their Arab-Turkish names throughout the years, and their children, if they so wish.

The text of the law reflects the reasonable agreement of the public and the political forces that express the interests of various population groups. Goodwill and a striving for understanding and cooperation, without which a consistent policy on the nationality issue is impossible, were again demonstrated.

The law has been adopted and it will be enforced within a few days. Now we are facing the most important factor—to create a tight organization of competent state organs and create a social climate of confidence and security among the Bulgarian Muslims so that they can feel free to reassume their previous names or keep their current names, while protecting the right of each citizen to express his will voluntarily.

The Fatherland Front appeals to all our political forces to support by joint efforts the calm and peaceful process of restoring the Arab-Turkish names of a part of the Bulgarian citizens. The constructive spirit in the contact group on preparing the opinions and proposals of the interested public organizations and movements, related to the draft law, whose natural coordinator the Fatherland Front became, must be obligatorily transferred to the settlements, municipalities, townships, districts, and among the people.

The Fatherland Front expresses its readiness to become a forum of consensus and joint action on the nationality issue of all interested political and public forces and in every place. Simultaneously, the Fatherland Front National Council demands to accelerate the work related to implementing the other items of the National Assembly Declaration on the Nationality Issue, and especially the working out of guarantees on defending the rights, freedoms, safety, peaceful existence, and interests of this minority part of our population in various districts, municipalities, and settlements that has a different religion.

Today, more than ever before, we need national consensus and united action in the name of our children and our future.

Names Restoration Could Stop by 'End of Year'

AU1203183490 Sofia BTA in English
1747 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Scheduled Name Restoration For Bulgarian Muslims"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—"Bulgarian Muslims will be able to restore their names according to a schedule until the end of the year," said Mr Pencho Penev, minister of justice, speaking at a news conference on the application of the Bulgarian Citizens Names Act.

He motivated the need of a schedule by the difficulties which the law-courts would experience if inundated with applications and called on the applicants to be patient and understanding. In his view, the schedule does not provide any loopholes for corruption.

Mr Penev elaborated on the name-restoration procedure and undertook that no Bulgarian Muslims' application will go unconsidered by the courts. "The restoration of a name will be denied solely in cases when the court establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the applicant has been pressured," he emphasized.

Mr Penev said that the applicants themselves are entitled to appoint the two witnesses required in the procedure. Authoritative public figures, as well as representatives of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, of the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests and of the Rodolyubie Rhodope Union can also serve as witnesses.

Radical Democratic Party Holds Sofia Conference

AU1003203990 Sofia BTA in English
1948 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The first national conference of the Radical Democratic Party in Bulgaria which was held today adopted a platform, a programme and a statute.

The party leader Prof. Dr. Elka Konstantinova spoke of the Radical Democratic Party's place in the political life of the Union of Democratic Forces.

A parallel was made between traditional and modern principles of radical democracy in Bulgaria. One of the main conclusions was that the Radical Democratic Party should become a party which will enable culture to be present in policy with the help of outstanding personalities, for the improvement of political life.

The party programme states its views about this country's state structure, as well as about the financial, socio-economic, national, cultural and educational, and foreign policy, which should be pursued under the conditions of a truly democratic structure of society. The statute determines its structures, bodies and purposes.

Significant place was given to the Radical Democratic Party economic platform and mainly to the priority trends in this relation. The accent is placed on agriculture, light industry and tourism.

Macedonians 'Separatist Demands' at Sofia Rally

AU1103202890 Sofia BTA in English
1936 GMT 11 Mar 90

["Rally With Separatist Demands"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The independent Macedonian organization "Ilinden" organized today a separatist rally with demands for cultural and national autonomy of Macedonians in Bulgaria. They raised slogans like "We Are Macedonians And Nothing Else", "United Macedonia: A Guarantee For Peace."

The participants in the rally who proclaimed rights for "the Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria, handed a petition in the National Assembly. Their procession was accompanied by the chanting of protest of hundreds of people from the capital city.

The Union of the Macedonian Cultural and Educational Societies called the demands in its declaration anti-constitutional and anti-people's.

The demands of "Ilinden" were denounced by the Committee for Protection of National Interest"— Sofia, the Bulgarian National-Radical Party, the Movement for Protection of National Interests and the Bulgarian Cultural and Society "Todor Aleksandrov" in the town of Petrich.

Macedonian Youth Society Established

AU0903181890 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 8 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Macedonian Youth Society Established"]

[Text] A Macedonian Youth Society was founded in April 1986 as the youth section of the Gotse Delchev Cultural-Educational Club. Following the restoration congress of the Union of Macedonian Cultural-Educational Societies in January 1990, which rallied the Macedonian cultural-education societies in Bulgaria, the youth section expanded as a larger Cultural-Educational Society.

The society adopted the Bulgarian people's spiritual unification as its ideal. In connection with implementing this idea, the society intends to work for the correct explanation of the Bulgarian nationality issue to the public in on our country and abroad. The society declares itself against distortions of Bulgarian history. Particular attention is devoted to unmasking the Yugoslav attempts at speculation and manipulation related to the so-called "Macedonian issue." The society is convinced that two nations—a Bulgarian and a Macedonian one—could not possibly exist considering their common language, common culture, and common history. It resolutely protests against the displays of national nihilism that were persistently implanted in our society throughout the last 45 years.

Social Democratic Party on Macedonian Issue

AU2002215190 Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 20 Feb 90

["BSDP (Bulgarian Social Democratic Party) on 'Macedonian Question'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 20 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) has issued a declaration in connection with the February 16 address in which the Yugoslav Federal Assembly called on the Bulgarian National Assembly that "Bulgaria create again conditions for the expression of the national and cultural identity of the Macedonian national minority and for respect of all its rights in accordance with international law." The declaration emphasizes that the failed "Serbianization" of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia gave way to a "Macedonization" after World War II. According to the BSDP, in 1946-1947 the Bulgarian Communist Party, seeking to please Tito and the Comintern and aiming in a vague and indefinite future at a unified federation in party and political terms, tried to "Macedonize" the population in the Pirin area. "Recognizing the validity of all treaties signed by this country, including those concluded abroad," the declaration reads, "we declare in compliance with the International Bill of Human Rights that the choice of national identity is a personal matter, a matter of personal will not subject to any outside pressure." In conclusion the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party raises the question of the right of the citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including those of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, who have Bulgarian national identity, to be fully capable of expressing without let or hindrance their national affiliation.

Olympic Committee Members Demand Slavkov Release

AU1003163190 Sofia BTA in English 2026 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—The members of the plenum of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee (BOC) today demanded from the Prosecutor General of the Republic to release Ivan Slavkov, chairman of the BOC and member of the International Olympic Committee, who was taken into custody.

As it is well-known, Ivan Slavkov, former son-in-law of Bulgaria's former ruler, Todor Zhivov, was arrested on February 22, 1990. Slavkov was married to Zhivkov's late daughter Lyudmila Zhivkova.

In the letter sent to the Prosecutor General, the text of which was unanimously approved by the attending members of the plenum of BOC, it is pointed out that Slavkov has rendered great services to the development of the Bulgarian sport, to the Bulgarian and the international Olympic movement. It is underlined that his arrest is a gross violation of human rights and a plea is made for giving competent information about the charges made against him and for his release until it becomes clear whether he is guilty or not. The members of the plenum cast their vote for giving public guarantees for Slavkov's release.

Education Minister News Conference Reported

AU0903220190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Minister of National Education Konstantin Kotsev gave a news conference today at which he expressed the readiness of the ministry's leadership to contribute to the elimination of negative trends in school work and for the stabilization of the educational process. He recalled that the question of the teachers' methods is one of the numerous unresolved problems that has been successfully resolved for the time being. The minister announced that the command-administrative functions of teachers are expected to be gradually reduced and the coordination activities should permanently expand. The ministry's direct links with schools are expected to be consolidated.

No political struggles will be resolved on the school grounds, no political formations shall be established. This is one of the methods for the de-ideologization of the educational process, but it is hardly sufficient. We expect the updating of school subjects, and a reorganization of study programs and of textbooks for all levels of educational process.

Serious difficulties exist in connection with the preparations for the next school year. These problems are expected to be dealt with in a draft program that is not yet ready. It is expected to be adopted after broad discussions.

Poll Shows BCP in Lead With 39 Percent

AU1203143690 Sofia BTA in English 1308 GMT 12 Mar 90

["If Elections Were To Take Place Now the BCP Will Get 39 (percent)"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—If elections take place now the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] will get most of the votes.

Such was the reply of 39 [percent] out of the 3,000 participants in a sociological survey, made by the National Center for Public Opinion Survey at the National Assembly. The Union of the Democratic Forces will get 15 per cent. This data was voiced on the TV two days ago.

If there were direct elections for a head of state now, the polled would chose Petur Mladenov.

50 per cent of the polled backed the BCP. Most widely backed, however, is Ecoglasnost. According to the polled the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) is still not so popular. The Green Party and the Committee for Religious Rights Protection have good positions. Contradictory are the opinions about Podkrepa. The Alternative Socialist Party is not popular enough.

Dobri Dzhurov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Boyko Dimitrov continue to be the most popular political leaders. Lukanov has increased his rating by 14 points. The leaders of the opposition are collecting polar assessments.

"There is no political center in the country," said in the commentary Andrey Raychev, director of the center. He made the forecast that the political force which will assume the functions of a center will become the winner. Asked about the way which Bulgaria should chose, 31 per cent named socialism, 4 per cent capitalism while according to 68 per cent this division is artificial.

60 per cent stand for the formation of a coalition government while only 12 per cent are against it.

46 per cent of the polled estimate as normal their standard of living, 7 per cent as good and 17 per cent can hardly make both ends meet.

Detailed results from the poll will be offered to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, and DEMOKRATSIYA.

BCP Recruitment, Other Current Events Noted

AU1003183690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Mar 90 p 6

[Reports under rubric: "Diary of Current Events for 7 March"]

[Text] Mikhaylovgrad Oblast correspondent Neofit Petkov—Since 10 November there has been an increase in the number of people in Mikhaylovgrad Oblast wishing to enter the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Whereas 1,204 members were admitted during 1989, in February alone this year 311 new members were admitted. The largest number of newly admitted Communist Party members were recorded in the municipalities of Byala Slatina, Vidin, Vratsa, Lom, Yakimovo, Bregovo, and Novo Selo. One-third of them are under 30 years old, and almost half are women.

Varna Oblast correspondent Nikolay Zhelev—The Movement for Renewal of the BCP is the Varna version of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform. The movement stands for renewal and for the unification of all left forces in the BCP and society.

The movement will use for its discussions and consultations the club at No. 22 Lenin Boulevard, Varna, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 1800 to 2100. The first gathering is on 12 March.

Correspondent Rumyana Simeonova—The Central Council of the Defense Support Organization has a new chairman, Major General Docho Polendakov. His election was the first item on the agenda of the plenum of the Defense Support Organization Central Council held in Sofia on 7 March.

Heated arguments and discussions were aroused during the debate on the ways to define the future nature, functions, and development of the organization.

In the future, the Defense Support Organization, as a patriotic supraparty state and public organization, will develop on the principles of democracy and juridical autonomy, with an economical organizational and staff structure and a sensible financial policy.

The first issue of OBNOVLENIE [Renewal], a publication by the Vidin Municipal BCP organization, has appeared. This is a two-page newspaper that will appear twice monthly and will be distributed before the forthcoming elections. This issue is sponsored by the Communists of the Agrostroy and Bulgarplod enterprises in Vidin.

Central Cooperative Union Holds Congress

AU0903112190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Our reporter Olga Ivanova sent this dispatch from the People's Palace of Culture, where the 10th Congress of the Central Cooperative Union opened this morning.

[Begin Ivanova recording] The congress session began with an introductory speech by (Tsvetan Trifonov), Central Cooperative Union first deputy chairman. It was a traditional introductory speech that may be passed over without comment because the report distributed in advance to the delegates covers everything. What does the report contain? First, it notes that in the year in which the cooperative movement celebrates its centenary, the movement faces the task of restoring at last the principles and meaning of a true movement of the Bulgarian cooperative members. In the conditions of the command-administrative system, many abuses were committed, which led to a general undervaluing of the role of the cooperatives in the national economy. The cooperatives were regarded as a temporary economic form. Cooperative property was defined as a lower form, and this postulate naturally led to the nationalization of the cooperatives.

However, in the first speeches by Matso Matsev from the Cooperative Union in Sevlievo, by Kolyo Tsonev from the Burgas Cooperative Union, and by Professor Lazar Velchev, it was pointed out that the elimination of these abuses was the only means to renew the cooperatives in the new economic conditions being created. What should the cooperative comprise?—this was one of the main topics around which the discussion developed. In the conditions of the democratization of the whole of society, it was said that it was essential for the cooperatives to be built up wholly upon the democratic cooperative principles that had proved their vitality. The cooperative must become the basic unit of the united cooperative system or, more precisely, restore its functions as such. In the transition to the market economy, measures must be taken to increasingly ensure pluralism of forms of ownership and the action of commodity-money relationships.

A further central point raised in certain speeches was the need for a new system of economic interrelations between the cooperatives and the state. According to the proposals concerning the specific nature of the cooperatives and cooperative ownership, it was pointed out that it was necessary to ensure the maximum independence of the cooperative organizations from the state and its organs. In order to establish these interrelations, the delegates proposed a uniform proportional tax on net profit, which should constitute the only contribution by the cooperative organizations to the state budget. It is clear that more heated discussions will follow in the afternoon session of the congress. [end recording]

Fatherland Front BCP Branch Dissolved

AU2302200490 Sofia BTA in English 1859 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—Taking into account the pressing public need for the Fatherland Front to turn increasingly to a broadest possible union of political parties, organizations, movements, and associations for the sake of unity and national concord, the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members resolved to disband the party branch at the Fatherland Front National Council. From now on they will move to BCP branches on a residence basis. The assets os the branch are remitted to the childhood fund at the children's newspaper SEPTEMVRIYCHE.

Human Rights Society Expels Minev, Ambarev

AU2102171290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] The Administrative Council of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights issued a declaration in which it states on behalf of the association that, after the national conference on 17 February 1990, the members of the association resolutely object to the actions of Mr. Iliya Minev and his supporters. By demonstratively walking out of the national conference, and by their behavior prior to and during the conference, they confirmed their refusal to accept the platform and statute of the association and the fact that there is no place for them in the organization. The declaration stresses: We state that the association will sever all relations with the aforementioned individuals and this also applies to Father Dimitur Ambarev from Plovdiv who systematically provokes conflicts with his controversial actions.

Several cases have also occurred in which members of the association assumed the right of representing the association without being authorized to do so, and issued statements, declarations, and other documents that they submitted to the mass media, the Administrative Council further pointed out.

Commission Convenes for Investigation of 17 Nov

LD1303231390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The joint commission of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council for overseeing the investigation of the events at Nardoni Avenue in Prague on 17 November 1989 has convened today for its regular session.

The deputies, students, and representatives of the Civic Forum will hear the latest information of the representatives of the Czech General Prosecution Office and the military section of the General Prosecution Office of Czechoslovakia.

The Military Prosecution Office has so far brought charges against 21 members of the National Security Corps who took part in the brutal intervention against students. Only one civilian is being investigated—Miroslav Stepan—who has already been in custody for 80 days. The results of the inquiry are, however, not clear because former chief of the National Security Corps' Prague Directorate, General Bohumil Carda, who has been on an official trip abroad for several weeks, could not be called in to give his second testimony as a witness.

In the next few days, the opening of the first court trial with one of the accused members of the National Security Corps is expected.

Rumor of Witness Suicide Denied

LD1203234890 Prgue CTK in English 2221 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—Special investigator of the Czech General Prosecutor's Office, Dr Jan Franek, today denied rumours that one of the main witnesses regarding Miroslav Stepan's involvement in last November's police operations against demonstrators, had committed suicide.

In Franek's words, the former head of the National Security Corps' Prague Directorate, General Bohumil Carda, who had testified before the investigating commission of the Czechoslovak Parliament that Miroslav Stepan had taken a direct part in operations against demonstrations over the past two years, had "taken a few pills" a few days ago "in the course of his tour of duty in the German Democratic Republic." He had been under no pressure, the investigator declared, to withdraw his original statement maintaining Miroslav Stepan's complicity.

According to the testimony of General Carda and other witnesses, Miroslav Stepan had also played a role in the suppression of the student demonstration of November 17 last year that led to the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. The prosecution investigator told journalists today that Stepan, who had formerly been a member of the all-powerful Communist Party Presidium, was "mentally balanced" and admitted his political responsibility, while rejecting any criminal guilt.

It was also announced from the same source that the number of police officers now charged with participation in the brutal attacks on demonstrators on November 17 has risen to twenty five. All of them are at liberty pending trial.

Justice Minister Considers Rehabilitation Damages

LD1203224290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The law on rehabilitation and the amendment to the economic code were the most important documents discussed by the federal government today. Jana Havligerova is on the microphone with a report on the deliberations.

[Havligerova] The law on rehabilitation evoked most questions at the press conference after the session of the government. It concerns the persons sentenced in criminal proceedings between 25 February 1948 and 31 December 1989. It will affect two groups of people. The first one, which consists of people sentenced for criminal acts of an exceptionally political nature, will be rehabilitated directly by the law. This means that they will not have to apply for rehabilitation. The second group concerns acts containing elements of violence, economic crime, and so on. These rehabiliations will be discussed on an individual basis and the persons concerned must first submit a proposal to the Ministry of Justice.

Compensation for damages is, naturally, linked to rehabilitations, and because the sum total of proposed compensation is estimated at approximately 1 billion korunas, a question also arises of where these funds should be found. This is what Dagmar Buresova, Czech republic minister of justice, told us on this topic:

[Begin Buresova recording] I suppose that all of us should consider the fact that it is impossible to make the question of rehabilitation dependent on financial possibilities. Without doubt, many of us were subjected to injustices. But the injustices committed on people who were innocent and who were made to face the court and then sentenced when innocent, must be redressed in the first place, whether it is to the detriment of all of us as a society or whether we look for funds elsewhere, for example in the property of the people who gained their riches in an unjustified way. Another possibility is being considered—and I am now talking as a citizen of this state—I think that we should consider as possible sources the huge subsidies which were given to the Communist Party. As Mr. Minister Klaus said, this year was around one billion korunas. And while these subsidies were not so high in past years, they did, nevertheless, exist. Other organizations were also receiving unjustified subsidies and if all these organizations, in particular the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]

and other parties, are of the view that all of us wish to embark on redressing the injustices of those who were most affected, then I think that the CPCZ itself should offer some of its property so that they could be used precisely for this humane purpose. [end recording]

[Havligerova] The new law will, naturally, still be discussed by the Federal Assembly. Its final wording and the time of its coming into force will therefore depend on deputies and their suggestions. The same goes for the amendment of the economic code. Both legal norms should be valid as early as before the elections, which will probably be in May this year.

[Announcer] And here is yet another report. The federal government has appointed Jiri Kanturek director general of Czechoslovak Television.

Government To Submit New Bill on Rehabilitation

LD1303042590 Prague CTK in English 1631 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government will submit a bill on legal rehabilitation of all citizens who were victims of wrongdoings and unlawfulness in the period from February 25, 1948, to November 17, 1989, to the parliament, Czech Minister of Justice Dagmar Buresova said here today.

The new law will concern more than 100,000 persons but a great number of them do not live any more. The bill, which was discussed by the federal government today, will make it possible to rehabilitate the majority of the persons concerned ex lege. These persons have been sentenced for deeds which were an expression of civil freedoms, she said.

The sentence on rehabilitation will annul also the decree of confiscation of property. As regards compensation for the confiscated property, another decree will be issued. Some 51,000 requests for rehabilitation and compensation are expected to be made, the Czech minister of justice said.

Chief arbitrator of Czechoslovakia Frantisek Faldyna spoke about a draft amendment to the economic code. He said that it will complete a whole complex of legal norms necessary for the introduction of a new market mechanism.

The two laws should come into force before the elections, i.e. in the first half of this year.

Former Chief Prosecutor Charged With Abuses

LD2802121390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The federal and Czech office of the prosecutor general have given information to CTK regarding charges levelled against the former CSSR prosecutor general [Jan Pjescak], accusing him of having committed criminal offenses of showing favors and abusing official powers. He allegedly committed them in contravention of the law by not dealing properly with a complaint against Vasil Bilak for committing the criminal offense of high treason, which was lodged at the office of the prosecutor general on May 1988 by representatives of Charter 77, Tomas Hradilek and Rudolf Bereza. This occurred at the time when criminal offenses, which led to the military occupation of our country, did not as yet come under the statute of limitations. Criminal proceedings against the former CSSR prosecutor general have already begun.

Havel Interview Begins Regular Sunday Program

LD1203105490

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1305 GMT on 11 March carries an introduction to a new program "Conversations in Lany," with an announcer saying that the new program will follow at 1315 GMT after some music.

At 1315 GMT an announcer states: "Today is the first time for you to listen to a program we have entitled "Conversations in Lany" [small chateau used by President Masaryk as his summer residence], which will be available to listeners every Sunday, always at the beginning of the "Studio Seven" broadcast. Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, will discuss questions which are a matter of intrinsic interest to us all."

The interview begins at 1316 GMT with correspondent (Ota Nut) asking Havel if these conversations are to become a new tradition.

Havel says he welcomes a regular opportunity to address people on radio from Lany, where he rests. He goes on to describe his routine in Lany on a Sunday. Answering a question about his current work, Havel points out that Wednesday's forthcoming session of the Federal Assembly will discuss the new title of the republic. He expresses his doubts about the name proposed by the SNC [Slovak National Council]—Federation Czechoslovak [Federace Cesko-Slovensko]. There are historical reasons, but there are also grammatical problems, and in fact Cesko has never been used for Bohemia. He hopes the Federal Assembly will be able to find a proper compromise. Havel also noted problems concerning a new state emblem, which will also be discussed by the Federal Assembly.

Answering a question on his views on our economic reform and its timetable, Havel underlines the complexities of the issue, and stresses also a need to carry the reform out rather speedily during a two-year period following the forthcoming elections. Also in this period a new Constitution and legislative system should be formed, he notes.

Havel continues: "I think that among the first things which should be done is a certain restructuring of the government, which Mr. Calfa will perhaps propose to the

Federal Assembly this or next week. This restructuring has of course to be linked to some new constitutional laws. I am not sure if some personnel changes in the government are planned. It is more likely to be only a certain restructuring of the management, merging some ministries, not the formation of a new one. Nevertheless, this is something which is not appropriate for me to discuss here in detail as this will be the matter of a governmental lawmaking initiative, and not a matter for the president."

The correspondent recalls Havel's writing about post-democratic structures in 1978. Havel speaks about a need to form structures which would in the course of a transient period to democracy become a sort of balancing force against a former totalitarian system. These structures should be temporary, otherwise they could become obsolete, as happened to the Polish Solidarity. The Civic Forum originally had this bridging character, but now it is becoming more and more one of many political parties, he notes.

Answering a question about his stay in Slovakia last week, Havel points out that the SNC should probably devote more attention to the process of democratization in Slovakia than to questions of the republic's name, etc.. Havel says that Bilak's conception of socialism was embodied in the Javorina Hotel complex, where the high Party officials used to enjoy rather incredible and tasteless comfort. He laments it's still not being used to earn money from tourists. This stillness, according to Havel, is characteristic for local developments in Slovakia.

Answering a question on the forthcoming 15 March visit by the FRG President to Czechoslovakia [anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany and Hitler's arrival in Prague], Havel recalls his trip to the West Bohemia to see the region involved in the Sudetenland question. Weizsacker's visit should be seen as a return visit symbolizing the beginning of a new era of Czechoslovak-German relations.

Havel concludes the interview at 1343 GMT by saying that he would like to keep these Sunday conversations regular, providing he is not travelling, or too busy.

New Customs Restrictions Outlined

AU1303101590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 8 March on page 5 carries a 300-word "jel"-signed report on a news conference with Jan Vydra, director of the legal section of the Central Customs Administration, in Prague on 7 March. The news conference, at which Vydra provided information on newly introduced regulations concerning "noncommercial exports of goods," i.e. exports by tourists, is also the subject of 200 to 300-word correspondents' reports published by Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 8 March.

According to the RUDE PRAVO report, one of the changes concerns an increase in the administrative fee which must be paid by tourists taking out Czechoslovakian goods, the export of which is tied to the issuance of an export permit. This fee is being raised from 150 to 300 percent of the estimated price of the article in question and is said to apply to the following goods: sports equipment including fishing gear, color television sets, radio receivers, radio recorders, tape recorders, record players, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, unspecified "small" electrical appliances, paints and varnishes, thinners, soda siphons and whipped cream makers, musical instruments, and "other" goods (the complete list is said to comprise 29 items).

The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report, which is published on 8 March on page 2, specifies that the above fee applies not only to foreigners but to Czechoslovak citizens as well. However, foreigners will be subject to other restrictions as well: "A foreign national who arrives for only one day must not take out of the country goods worth more than 150 korunas, including the 300 percent administrative fee. If he arrives for two days, this sum is doubled. In case of a longer stay, he may take out articles worth a maximum of 50 percent of the officially exchanged amount of money." According to the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report, similar restrictions apply also to the departing Soviet soldiers and their family members; the value of goods they may take home must not exceed the sum of Czechoslovak korunas that had been allocated to them.

The MLADA FRONTA report on the news conference, published on 8 March on page 1, notes that the newly announced customs restrictions went into force on 7 March.

The RUDE PRAVO and MLADA FRONTA reports also quote Vydra's replies to questions about the possibility of private imports of cars and satellite equipment. Speaking about car imports, Vydra says that every cubic centimeter of engine size is valued at 20 korunas; the customs fee is 50 percent of the car value calculated in this way. Satellite equipment, in turn, can be imported after the payment of a customs fee amounting to 15 percent of its estimated price.

Dlouhy: Enterprise Changes Are 'Necessary'

LD0903230490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Deputy Federal Premier Vladimir Dlouhy visited Plzen today. [passage omitted] Editor (Michal Kraus) asked Vladimir Dlouhy the following:

[Begin recording] [(Kraus)] Mr Deputy Premier, you held talks today with the general director of the enterprise [Skoda]. Did you also discuss the possible abolition of the enterprise?

[Dlouhy] Naturally, we have dealt with all the questions which are connected with the operation of the enterprise—this also means with organizational changes that are necessary. I would like to stress one point here. I did not come to Plzen to make decisions from my position as a member of the government. I think that this is a question of an agreement on organizational changes for the transition to joint-stock companies, and so on. Naturally, the center has to voice its opinion on this. It has to adopt a certain stand but I think above all there should be agreement at the enterprise level and at levels of its individual enterprises. I am very glad that this was also voiced here, for the name of the Skoda trademark should not be damaged in the world. I think that this is the starting point—not to damage the good name of the Skoda which it does have and at the same time to respect all aspects which are connected with the organizational changes—to properly assess the value of the property, land, buildings, capital, and human potential too—to assess also the present problems and positive features which individual enterprises have and according to this to find the best possible solution. I believe that by 1 April it will be timely for some individual state enterprises to be set up. I also believe, however, that we should not rush into other organizational changes before their essence is clarified. [end recording]

Commentary Advocates Faith in Self-Management

AU1303100190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Mar 90 p 5

[Vladimir Cechlovsky commentary: "Self-Management: Yes or No?"]

[Text] The statement by First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek, made at a news conference after a government session last week, that the government did not approve the submitted draft law on the state enterprise and that the draft that is now to be expeditiously drawn up does not provide for the self-management of enterprises, has met with a considerable response.

Even the rejected version of the new law was not particularly well-disposed toward self-management. Now the question of its further existence as such has been raised. Will the principle of self-management disappear completely from our economic life? What are the arguments which the opponents of self-management put forward?

Their most frequently used argument is that in Yugoslavia the self-management system did not produce the expected results. However, such a general statement can hardly be accepted without reservations. After all, the reforms in the neighboring socialist states, too, have so far not had the requisite impact on economic performance and we know, nonetheless, that a radical economic reform in Czechoslovakia is unavoidable. We only have to take care that it is not implemented just as poorly. The root of the problem lies elsewhere. Just as economic reform can take many different forms, the principles of self-management, too, can be implemented in various ways—ranging from good to bad.

The view can also be heard that the self-management system is inflationary, that the workforce will claim more wages at the expense of investments in the future, which might disrupt the economy in a very short time. In the opinion of a number of economists, this, too, can be disproved by theoretical findings and practical experience. It is not self-management that is to be blamed for this but a deformed market. Such a situation can come about only when a self-managed enterprise is given preferential treatment in the market and when it has no competitors. But surely no one wants to create a deformed market in Czechoslovakia. If the market turns out to be out of balance nonetheless, the threat of an inflationary development will be there regardless of whether we have self-management or not.

From time to time one can hear the argument that it is necessary to energetically put an end to the current wave of destabilization in enterprises, generated by the constant recalling of members of self-management councils and enterprise directors. Indeed, at many places this jeopardizes the operation of enterprises. However, this is not a "product" of the self-management system but, rather, a consequence of the fact that in the past people were unable to elect into these positions persons whom they would like to see in them.

By the same token, I cannot agree with the view that, after the passing of the current law on state enterprises, self-management has not acquitted itself well in Czechoslovakia. I believe that self-management has not yet had a chance to make itself fully felt. The reform—and even this reform was halfhearted—was to enter into force on 1 January 1990. The law on state enterprises was a compromise between the necessary conditions for entrepreneurial activity and the endeavor of state bodies to retain a strong influence. In his report on the state and development of the Czechoslovak Federation, which he presented to the Federal Assembly in late February, Premier Marian Calfa himself criticized the fact that, under the administrative command system, it was politicians and bureaucrats who had the final say in decisions on the fate of enterprises, people whose income did not depend on the economic situation of enterprises and who did not feel the consequences of their decisions. Without self-management, bureaucrats will be given a chance again.

It goes without saying that self-management is not the only type of participation for working people in the management of their enterprise. However, it is necessary to consider all possible solutions and to choose the best one.

Slovak Premier Cic on Budget, CPCZ Role

LD1303001590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Interview with Slovak Premier Milan Cic by Bratislava radio editor Alica Bielikova in Bratislava on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] In the Slovak Government morning session the most important point on the agenda was the Slovak Government state budget bill for this year. We know that the change to a market economy must be accompanied by changes in the budget. The creation of resources will have to be closely linked with their use. Will it affect our living standards?

[Cic] This is a serious issue. I would like to mention that in addition we also discussed the economy in the Slovak Republic in 1989. These are two interlinked issues. We noted that the creation of certain national economic resources in 1989 was at a slightly higher level than in the previous period. However, we also noted that in addition to the good grain harvest, there was a partial improvement in the efficiency of exports and a more rational management of manpower. There were also a number of rather serious negative phenomena which had a negative impact on our ability to react to the new conditions of a market economy. I can mention, for example, the dissatisfaction of consumers the home market. We had a number of chaotic situations at the home market as a result of a lack of organization, and also with foreign tourists in our country and some speculators. We had to take these facts into consideration too in preparing the draft state budget for this year and we had to react to a number of new phenomena.

I might say that this state budget bill is characterized by a number of new facts—above all the authority and responsibility of elected legislative bodies at all levels with regard to decision making on basic proportions of budget management is increasing. It is a new phenomenon which affects the entire creation of the budget. This means that the budget of the national committees is increased by the entire tax on wages and that some income is transferred to suplementary resources. It is also important that the budget will include practically all funds which are created on the territory of the republic in spite of the fact that enterprises might be under federal management. This is very important. This budget is also anti-inflationary in order to restore economic balance. Another of its important features is a limitation on redistributing factors. This represents the beginning of the process of the transformation of the Czechoslovak economy toward a market economy.

If I am to answer your question I must say that in some areas we have to limit our spending, even in some areas where we think it might not be suitable—that is, in the area of agro-complex, including state funds for making land more fertile. On the other hand, we can say that no substantial changes will take place in the area of social services. For example, noninvestment spending, such as social security, education, and health care are not receiving less than what was originally planned and we are not considering a reduction in investment spending on health care and education.

If I am to answer specifically the question whether the living standards of our citizens will go down, it is rather difficult. I have made my personal view known very openly in a number of my public appearances. It is based on my knowledge of the previous government sessions from which I have learned that we will have to overcome an enormous number of problems. We will have to make personal and social sacrifices, we will have to be more modest in many directions, and we will have to work harder. In order to carry out such a radical reform as price changing, the government will have to look for the means to compensate this jump. This is the only way I can answer at the moment.

[Bielikova] Permit me to ask you another question. We read in the press today that you are no longer a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. What made you take this step?

[Cic] If you read it you know what made me take it. I made a TV declaration on Saturday at 2025 in an interview and I said—I will put it even more specifically here—that for quite some time I was confronting all the political and economic developments which took place in the political and economic system in which the CPCZ had the leading role and this not only in relation to our society and our republic but in the entire system of socialist countries. I am currently convinced that if the government is to fulfill the tasks which follow from its role and constitutional position, it is necessary that it is really a government nonpartial to any party. Therefore, its premier should also not be a member of any party. Consequently it is a connection of two facts. My personal conviction is connected with the interest to lead this government to the elections in such a way that we moved toward a pluralist democratic society.

Economic Delegation, Assembly Leaders Hold Talks

LD0903212190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Josef Bartoncik, chairman of the Chamber of People, and Jozef Stank, chairman of the Chamber of Nations [of the Federal Assembly], had talks in Prague today with the members of the mission of 24 economically advanced countries. The delegation, which represents the states of the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Association, and also the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, and other countries, is examining the possibility of backing economic development in Czechoslovakia. In the Federal Assembly the guests were interested first and foremost in legislative changes and stated that their countries would assist in particular in implementing structural changes in industry, environmental protection, and in training and education.

Industrialist Sees 'Opportunities' for Economy

AU1203174890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 March on page 2, under the headline "The More Energetic Have a Chance," carries a 400-word "(VC)"-signed report on a news conference held in Prague on 9 March by Prof. Herbert Krejci, secretary general of the Association of Austrian Industrialists, on Czechoslovakia's conversion to a market economy. His association is convinced that great opportunities are now opening up for cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

He advises the Czechoslovaks to proceed carefully and not to cause upheavals. According to Krejci, "smaller entrepreneurs now have a chance. It is not true, as is said in some places, that the big fish will swallow up the little ones. Such a fate only awaits those fish that are too slow."

Among other things, Krejci expects the renewal of the CSSR's masterly tradition of shoemaking.

Carnogursky Favors East European Coordination

LD1203235990 Prague CTK in English 1324 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky has called for preserving certain supra-state structures in Eastern Europe that would make it possible to take coordinated actions.

In an interview for the latest issue of the Czech weekly TVORBA, he said that despite the dissolving of the present supra-national structures in Eastern Europe, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty, it is important for "us not to be obliged to join Western Europe individually. The social and economic functioning of Western Europe is different from ours. Individual East European states would not succeed in quickly joining Western Europe painlessly."

Jan Carnogursky, who was four months before his nomination to a top government post arrested by the former regime and accused of "disrupting the Republic", is a prominent personality of the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia. Asked what would be a concept of an ideal relation between the Czech and Slovak nation, he replied: "The prospect of the national development is of a certain importance for Slovaks. I see the prospect in Czechoslovakia. But if a European or Central European integration occurs Slovaks would probably want to enter this integration as an independent subject rather than only by mediation of Czechoslovakia", Jan Carnogursky said.

Speaking about Czechoslovakia's ethnic minorities, i.e. Hungarians, Poles, Ukrainians and Germans, Jan Carnogursky said: "Neither Czechs nor Slovaks are interested in denationalization of minorities. These nations should have a maximum of rights that can be technically and financially ensured. First of all, they would have support of the state in their relations with the mother country, e.g. the Hungarian minority in Slovakia with Hungary. Naturally, they will have representation in all bodies that decide their rights. I see a solution to their problem also in the limitation of the importance of the borders, e.g. Hungarians are separated by them from Hungary. We expect that our expatriates will receive similar support in the neighbouring states" (the Slovak minority in Hungary is the most numerous of them).

Jan Carnogursky spoke also of the question of returning the church property expropriated by the former regime after the coup in 1948 back to the church. The question has not yet been tackled globally by the state. Individual buildings are returned on the basis of individual talks between church institutions and national committees.

Asked about the development of the Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia, Jan Carnogursky said that clubs of the Movement are being established. The planned constituent congress of the whole Movement in Nitra, West Slovakia, will change the Movement partially into a political force that would stand in June elections in Czechoslovakia.

CPCZ Details Party-State Financial History

AU1303130690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 90 p 2

[Statement sent to RUDE PRAVO by Petr Rosecky, head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Economic Section; date not given: "Economic Relations Between the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak State"]

[Text] Recently, ambiguities surrounding the relationship between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] budget and the Czechoslovak Federation's budget have multiplied and completely different items are being lumped together despite the fact that we have reported many times on how the CPCZ conducts its financial affairs. Therefore, we are publishing the following statement given to RUDE PRAVO by Petr Rosecky, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Economic Section:

It is necessary to divide the development of financial relations between the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak state into two fundamental periods—1945-1968 and 1968-1989.

Development After 1945

After 1945, the CPCZ's property—like that of other political parties—mainly consisted of confiscated property. Part of this property ministered to the needs of gainful employment. From 1946 to 1948 the CPCZ assumed responsibility for a considerable number of publishing capacities which enabled it to issue publications and to produce local and central newspapers and

magazines. After 1948, of the property which it had acquired during this period, the CPCZ gradually handed over to the state:

—61 printing houses which became the nationalized printing industry's basis. It only retained for itself the RUDE PRAVO enterprises, with subsidiaries in Ostrava and Brno, and the PRAVDA printing house with its subsidiary in Zilina;
—book stores which were to be found in almost every district and which formed the basis for the Kniha national enterprise;
—workers' houses in towns and villages as well as restaurant facilities were handed over; for example, Lucerna and Slovansky Dum in Prague;
—in 1954 all secretariat buildings, schools, and other facilities were handed over to the appropriate national committees.

These are not only conjectures; archive materials testify to specific instances.

Development After 1968

The drawing up of capital investment accounts was introduced with effect from 1 January 1972; this was based on the General Agreement on the Modification of Property and Legal Relations and on the Financing of the Capital Construction of Buildings and Special Purpose Facilities Utilized by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. I am able to bring to the reader's attention the following facts from this agreement:

—secretariat buildings and schools constructed before the above-mentioned date were transferred free of charge to the Czechoslovak state;
—the Federal Ministry of Finance [FMF] provided the party with a deposit for capital investment. At the end of every calendar year, the annual balancing of financial assets was carried out; this was done on the basis of the final accounts rendered for each project. This document was verified by the Czechoslovak State Bank. Therefore, the CPCZ's financial assets were directly detailed.
—on the FMF's side, there was always a refund on projects listed in Chapters II-VIII [of the above General Agreement]. Project preparations, built-in internal fixtures (panelling and so on), and internal fixed assets (mainly furniture) were defrayed from CPCZ resources;
—this rendering of accounts served as documentary evidence on the property register where a building was registered as the property of the Czechoslovak state (the appropriate financial department of the national committee) with the CPCZ having the right to use it on a permanent basis.

From 1972 to 1988 the following projects were carried out:

Project Type	Number	Korunas
CPCZ Secretariat buildings	64	1,791,470,383.90
political training sections	12	113,233,049.80
building reconstruction	58	147,088,583.30
Hotel Praha	1	885,110,000.—
PRAVDA dormitory and printing house	2	117,958,000.—
educational facilities	3	59,919,510.—

—On the whole, the FMF refunded capital investment to the tune of 3,114,780,517,50 korunas.
—In mutually determining financial resources, it is vital that the costs of "empty buildings" be defrayed from the state's resources.
—Other resources—that is, for internal fixtures, operational equipment, buildings, and so on—came from CPCZ members' contributions.

At the same time, all projects financed in this way were transferred to the Czechoslovak state; each of them when transferred was worth more. A project's built-in internal fixtures were also transferred to the state's advantage. From a purely economic point of view, then, the CPCZ is not indebted to the state. Halfway through 1989, reimbursement for projects completed in 1989 or 1990 was introduced in the requirements for the 1990 budget. This is the item that appeared in the state budget's "CPCZ" chapter.

In August 1969, an agreement was signed between the CPCZ Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Government on reimbursing some costs of a nationwide nature that had been defrayed from CPCZ resources. The following percentage contributions from the Czechoslovak state were agreed with the FMF:

—political activity: 30 percent contribution from the Czechoslovak state;
—refund for university expenses: 50 percent contribution from the Czechoslovak state;
—refund for cost of V.I. Lenin, K. Gottwald, and J. Fucik museums: 100 percent contribution from the Czechoslovak state;
—refund for expenditure on People's Militia: 75 percent contribution from Czechoslovak state.

What is concealed behind these items? Holding aktivs and consultative meetings for National Front and national committee functionaries in the economic sphere is contained under political activity.

Reimbursing university expenses concerns students from the national committees and the army as well as from central organs of state administration and the enterprise sphere who have improved their qualifications. For the museums, operating costs were mainly involved and expenditure on the People's Militia involved the purchase of materials and technical equipment. This equipment has been handed over to the army.

Since 1982, the state has provided budget reimbursements to the tune of 70 million korunas per annum from the Czechoslovak Federation's budget. For example, in 1988 this worked out at 41 korunas 10 halers for every party member. That, then, was the relationship between the CPCZ and the state.

Ten Minute Warning Strike Planned for 11 Apr

LD1003230890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Representatives of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence from the metallurgic, engineering, and electrical engineering industries met at the second national session in Brno today.

Slavomir Stracar, federal minister in charge of these industries, in the course of discussion called these two movements guarantors of democratic changes. He also stressed that incompetent and compromised people had to leave managerial posts in the industry but there was a need to avoid totalitarian practices.

The particpants in the meeting of activists approved a 10-minute warning strike to be held on 11 April in support of the demand that the CPCZ return its property.

Equal TV Time for Czechs, Slovaks

AU1103201890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Mar 90 p 2

["(VD)"-signed report: "Staff Cuts Will Be Made, But Considerately"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our own correspondent)—Czechoslovak Television [CST] management in the Slovak Republic considers the fulfillment of a Federal Government decree concerning CST's special regime—according to which 1,200 employees in Bohemia and 800 in Slovakia are to depart from television by 30 April—to be unrealistic.

Roman Kalisky, CST director in Slovakia, stated this at a news conference on 6 March. A new proposal for reorganization will be submitted to the Slovak Government in the very near future. The plan, according to which staff cuts will be made, is not definite, but the oversized bureaucracy in particular will be reduced, as well as those sections which are doubly represented in television. A proposal has already been submitted to disband the CST Dance Orchestra and the department that deals with festivals.

Truly national television, Czech and Slovak, will gradually be created out of the current CST structure, said R. Kalisky later. The endeavor to grant equal status to TELEVIZNI NOVINY [Television News] broadcasts is oriented toward this. Slovaks will present TELEVIZNI NOVINY three times a week, and Czechs will present the program four times a week. Broadcasting time between individual national programs will be regulated on the ratio of "one to one."

Broadcasting on the Soviet channel will also change; operating this channel costs 24 million korunas per annum. Until approximately 1900 this channel will broadcast CST programs.

CSEMADOK Holds General Assembly

AU1303115290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Under New Conditions"]

[Text] Bratislava—The tasks faced by CSEMADOK—Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union—under the new political and social conditions form part of the agenda of its extraordinary general assembly which got under way in Bratislava 9 March. More than 550 delegates, representing the 98,000 CSEMADOK members, will discuss new articles for their organization and will elect a new leadership at the meeting. In a report on the organization's activity, delivered by Zoltan Sido, chairman of its Central Committee, it is stated, among other things, that CSEMADOK considers it essential—on the principal of equality and equal rights—to closely cooperate with progressive Czech and Slovak movements and to build on the common history shared with the Czech and Slovak nations. "We expect from the new Czechoslovak Constitution that it will guarantee equal rights for all citizens regardless of their nationality," said Zoltan Sido in conclusion.

Parties View Civic Forum Dispute in Brno

LD1203115390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] The town committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy [Ceskoslovenska Socialni Demokracie] in Brno in a statement to CTK has expressed concern over the present development within Civic Forum in Brno. It appeals to those involved in the conflict which has arisen to become aware of the responsibility they bear with regard to the town, the revolution, and the whole nation.

The town committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslvenska Srana Socialisticka] in Brno in its standpoint also distances itelf from the conflict which has arisen between local representatives of Civic Forum, Dr. Jaroslav Sabat and Petr Cibulka. It states that, although conflict in the forum is an internal affair, there is no doubt that this is detrimental to democracy. In circumstances in which even Civic Forum does not uphold the

roundtable agreement, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party does not consider itself bound to uphold the agreement either.

The Brno Christian Democratic Party [Krestansko-demokraticka Strana] considers the constant deterioration of the situation concerning the question of who is to fill the office of mayor as the cause of the worsening social atmosphere in the town. It is of the opinion that this detracts the attention of the decisive political forces from more important problems and causes a splintering of the unity of Civic Forum in Brno.

Independent Democrats Outline Election Platform

LD0403224590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] The Party of Independent Democrats' election platform will emphasize strengthening Slovak consciousness and the position of Slovaks within the federation. This emerged at the party presidium's session in Bratislava today. The party will demand bringing women's pay in line with men's pay for the same work, increasing child benefits for the first child, extending maternity leave, reducing military service to 12 months, and developing an unlimited private sector, but not through selling out the existing state sector.

Various Parties Form Election Alliance

LD1003232590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] An election alliance was formed in Prague today at a meeting of independent initiatives and political parties, the founding members of which are the Republican Union [Republikanska unie], Party of Constitutional Democracy [Strana ustavni demokracie], Club of the Danube Confederation [Klub podunajske konfederace], Party of Free Democrats [Strana svobodnych demokratu], Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality, [Strana ceskoslovenske neutrality], Democratic Party of the Czech Republic [Demokraticka strana Ceske Republiky], and People's Democratic Party [Vselidova demokraticka strana].

This alliance will form a joint election program and is open to all political parties and movements which will support its program.

Party of Democratic Socialism Outlines Program

LD1203125390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Participants of the all-Slovak aktiv of the Party of Democratic Socialism have adopted a stand on the present internal political situation. They have stressed the need to join all efforts for the solution of the generally expected social and economic problems on a socially just basis. The creation of a social democratic movement of Slovakia, which should be a coalition of citizens united by principles of social justice, democracy, and humanitarianism, is the most suitable platform for such a union. In this spirit the Party of Democratic Socialism will continue to develop its contacts with representatives of the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia, with members of the obroda [Renewal] Club and with other members of left-center political groups in Slovakia.

Cooperative Farmers Register 'Political Movement'

AU0903163390 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 8 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives"]

[Excerpts] On 6 March 1990, in harmony with Law No. 15 of 1990 on Political Parties, the Ministry of Interior and the Environment of the Slovak Republic registered the Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives [Politicke hnutie clenov JRD]. [passage omitted] The Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives is a spontaneous initiative from below which has its origin in the labor collectives of united agricultural cooperatives and is independent of existing state and political structures. It is based in Prague and Bratislava.

Its founding, inspired by the opportunities offered by Article 8 of the Law on Political Parties, proceeds from the need of wide sections of members of united agricultural cooperatives, their families, and sympathizers to achieve a corresponding representation in the legislative bodies.

The Political Movement of Members of United Agricultural Cooperatives will end its activity after the elections. [passage omitted]

Party of 'Constructive Destruction' Established

AU0903170190 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 8 Mar 90 pp 2, 3

[Unattributed report: "Constructive Destroyers"]

[Excerpts] The Party of Constructive Destruction [Strana konstruktivnej destrukcie]—SKD—has been set up in Hradec Kralove recently. Its main program is permanent opposition to all other political parties that might grow to form a system similar to the former totalitarian power.

Constructive destroyers do not seek political power, have no apparatus, do not own any assets, and, for the time being, do not publish anything of their own. They support the basic ideas formulated in the Civic Forum statement of 26 November 1989. [passage omitted] The

party will terminate its activity on the day of the disbandment of the last political party in Czechoslovakia.

The SKD founding members are convinced that a modern society, the building of which they seek, must be led by teams of experts without political ambitions, to whom the term "political power" must be alien. [passage omitted] Information can be had at the following address: Petr Jirousek, No. 748 Bozena Nemcova Street, 500 02 Hradec Kralove (poste restante).

Bishops' Conference Established

AU1303225090

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 10 March on page 1, under the headline "Bishops' Conference Established," carries a 200-word CTK report on a meeting of all Czechoslovak bishops convened to establish a bishops' conference. The meeting was attended by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic nuncio for special missions. This was the first time in more than 40 years that all of Czechoslovakia's bishops had met together.

According to Archbishop Colasuonno, "one of the most obvious signs of the normalization of the ecclesiastical situation in Czechoslovakia is the establishment of a Bishops' Conference."

The Bishops' Conference will consist of two bishops' bodies—a Czech-Moravian one and a Slovak one. The agreed articles will be approved by the Holy Father.

New Mayor, Deputy Mayors Elected in Bratislava

AU0503132290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak on 1 March, on pages 1 and 2, carries a 700-word "bety"-signed report on a plenary session of the Bratislava City National Committee held in Bratislava on 28 February. The report notes that the session first elected 43 new deputies to the City National Committee, representing 6 political parties and the Public Against Violence movement. The thus "reinforced" plenum of the City National Committee then elected Engineer Roman Hofbauer, candidate of sciences, as new Bratislava mayor and Doctor Stefan Holcik, candidate of sciences, Engineer Ladislav Kucera, Engineer Lubomir Stano, and Engineer Stefan Skrip as his deputies. On the same day, on page 2, VECERNIK carries a 250-word unattributed biography of Roman Hofbauer. The biography states that Hofbauer, who was born in 1940, is a trained construction engineer and used to work as designer and city planner. His last job was that of deputy section chief at the Slovak Commission of Planning and Scientific-Technical Development. Hofbauer, who is without party affiliation, is said to be one of the authors of the "Bratislava Nahlas" brochure (published by Bratislava environmentalists in the early eighties to highlight the city's ecological problems) and to have been "in permanent conflict with the management of his office and with organs of the Communist Party" because of his critical views.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 March on page 2 carries a 200-word report on the election of the new Bratislava mayor, which specifies that Hofbauer ran as candidate of the Public Against Violence movement.

Diplomatic Talks With Israel Continue

LD0903194490 Hamburg DPA in German 1736 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Copenhagen (DPA)—The GDR and Israel will continue their negotiations on taking up diplomatic relations. The head of the GDR Foreign Ministry department, Reiner Neumann, and Israeli diplomat Mikha'el Shiloh stated this today at the end of their two-day round of negotiations in Copenhagen. Both confirmed that the GDR delegation handed over a letter from Prime Minister Hans Modrow to the Israeli head of government, Yitzhaq Shamir. Neither side wanted to give more information on the content of the letter or on the state of the negotiations.

The leaders of both delegations stressed that the talks were conducted in a "very constructive atmosphere" and are to be continued soon at a date to be determined. [passage omitted]

Modrow Letter to Shamir

LD1303150890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR acknowledges the responsibility of the Germans for the National Socialist persecution of the Jews. This is one of the basic statements in the letter by GDR head of government Hans Modrow to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, which was handed over this weekend during the GDR-Israeli negotiations in Copenhagen on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

In the letter, Hans Modrow states for the first time the GDR's readiness "to hold talks regarding the settlement of financial questions raised by Israeli citizens." Reiner Neumann, Near East Department director in the GDR Foreign Ministry and head of the delegation at the Copenhagen talks, gave these details of the letter to the press in Berlin today. He also told the Israeli side that the GDR is currently working out new positions on Zionism.

Hans Modrow already stated the GDR's acknowledgement of the Germans' responsibility for the persecution of the Jews during the period of fascism in a letter to World Jewish Congress President Edgar Miles Bronfman, in February. What is new in the letter to Shamir is condemnation of Nazism as special variety of fascism, which the Israeli side considered important, Reiner Neumann said.

The consultations between the two sides made progress, but did not yet reach the establishment of diplomatic relations. The continuation of the talks, in which the Israeli side is interested, must be decided by the newly elected government.

Diplomatic Ties Reestablished With Chile

LD1203155890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0001 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Santiago (ADN correspondent)—Diplomatic relations between the GDR and the Republic of Chile were reestablished this evening (local time) [11 March]. The relevant protocol was signed in the La Moneda governmental palace in Santiago by Chilean Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma and the head of the GDR special delegation who is in Chile for the inauguration of the new president, Ambassador Klaus Hartmann. The GDR broke off diplomatic relations with Chile immediately after the Pincochet military coup of 11 September 1973 and the overthrow of the Allende government. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic relations were also resumed today between Chile and Poland, the CSSR, the USSR, and Yugoslavia.

Monetary Union Commission Meets in Berlin

LD1303101190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0917 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR-FRG joint commission of experts to prepare monetary union and economic community met in Berlin today for the third and final working session before the People's Chamber elections. The commission, which is chaired by Minister Romberg [Social Democratic Party], and Koehler, state secretary in the Federal Finance Ministry, was created by an agreement reached by Premier Modrow and Chancellor Kohl at their Bonn talks. It has the task of carrying out the preparatory work on the conditions and consequences of the project. It is reported that this is due to be completed by 18 March so that after this date the governments can make decisions. [passage omitted]

FRG Minister Urges Monetary Decision by Summer

LD1303120790 Hamburg DPA in German 1140 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (DPA/VWD)—The new GDR Government must make a fundamental decision by the summer recess on the economic and monetary union offered by Bonn, in the view of Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann.

The Free Democratic Party politician proceeds from the premise that the dual-state of the Federal Republic and the GDR will continue for a still uncertain period. A certain lead toward economic and monetary union is being forced through the present situation, Haussmann told journalists at the Leipzig Fair on Tuesday. The GDR should not "slavishly" adopt FRG laws. For instance, it could simplify tax laws and adopt more liberal shopping hours.

Haussmann again "categorically" rejected any kind of tax increases in order to finance the development measures in the GDR. Tax increases are poison. Private capital has priority in developing the GDR. [passage omitted]

At the news conference by the Bonn minister, a letter from GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow was produced in which all the heads of the combines as well as the chairman of the councils, bezirke, and kreise are requested to adopt a fixed procedure when cooperating with Western firms, in order to preserve public property. In the letter dated 1 March, the GDR Council of Ministers instructs the recipients to adopt this "clear legal position" in the form of a provisional or ratification clause when planning declarations of intent with enterprises from the Federal Republic and other countries.

Where declarations of intent have already been made or agreements concluded "that violate the interests of the GDR's public property" this position should be established subsequently, or obligations entered into should be rescinded. Declarations of intent by directors general should be endorsed by the competent minister. These stipulations should, however, not restrict the numerous activities, but merely preserve the interests of the GDR on the basis of valid law, Modrow assured. Many of the agreements currently concluded by firms are characterized by uncertainty of the law because of political development.

FRG Finance Minister Speaks at DSU Rally

LD1103182290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Magdeburg (ADN)—German Social Union [DSU] Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling addressed the demand "German unity now" in Magdeburg to the participants of a DSU election rally today. The decision to unite Germany has long been taken. He has never felt like a citizen of the GDR but a citizen of Germany.

According to Ebeling, the German Social Union is the only party that demands the way to immediate German unification via Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. However, Ebeling said, this should not become an avenue for Germans against Europe. [passage omitted]

DSU top candidate Professor Hansjoachim Walther said that the Party for Democratic Socialism is his party's main opponent in the political election campaign. The 18th of March would show "whether the revolution will be completed or fall back into socialist chaos."

Christian Social Union Chairman Theo Waigel sharply attacked the Modrow cabinet. "We invest in change, we are helping the people, but we are not going to spend a single mark on a run-down and rotten system," he said in his capacity as FRG finance minister in Magdeburg's Alter Markt. In the past few days "things have been decided that are counterproductive." Capital and Western know-how and firms will not come with the existence of the recently adopted trade union law. [passage omitted]

Deutsche Bank Spokesman on Monetary Union

LD1203101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1450 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Nobody should believe that German-German monetary union is a magic potion, Hilmar Kopper, executive board spokesman for Deutsche Bank, said at a news conference in Leipzig on Sunday. Currency reform is a prerequisite to economic union. No doubt "a number of difficult problems of adaptation must be tackled" during the transitional period, for which social safeguards are needed. According to Kopper, monetary union requires complete industrial freedom in the GDR. Privatization and the deconcentration of the combines and state enterprises should "be tackled without delay."

The spokesman for Deutsche Bank warned that in the rumpus to a monetary union, the exchange rate of the deutsche mark [DM] and GDR mark should not be discussed publicly. This is damaging and opens the doors to speculation. He is certain that the right decisions in this area will be made. Monetary union will considerably accelerate the necessary reforms in other areas of the GDR.

As soon as the legal bases are given, Deutsche Bank intends to offer its comprehensive services in the GDR, according to Kopper.

Deutsche Bank has already opened 10 information offices in the GDR.

Boehme Fears Financial Aid Conditional on Vote

AU1203102290 Cologne Deutschland Network in German 1000 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Ibrahim Boehme, GDR Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] chairman, is concerned about the fact that the opinion prevails that financial aid for the GDR, announced by the FRG Government, will only be given if certain parties are elected. Boehme said at a news conference in Bonn today that Chancellor Kohl had made promises on making public funds available.

Social Democratic Minister Without Portfolio Walter Romberg rejected NATO membership for an all-German state. He said that what was more important now was starting a security process on the basis of the CSCE process.

Economics Minister on Future Exchange Rates

LD1003224190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—There should be different exchange rates with the deutsche mark for the savings of

GDR citizens and for industry once monetary union has taken place. This view was expressed to ADN by GDR Economics Minister Professor Dr. Christa Luft after a conversation with Bernhard Walter, executive board member of Dresdner Bank AG in Leipzig on 9 March. Savers should be able to exchange their money at the rate one for one, although the gradual release of money in large amounts could be considered. A different exchange rate should be agreed for industry to act as a kind of protection. She agreed with her interlocutor that it is essential to set financial signals for GDR citizens to stop the further senseless withdrawal of savings.

Over 100 Applications for ERP Loans Received

AU1303102590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 10 Mar 90 p 1

[NZ/vwd report: "Haussmann: Already 100 Loan Applications"]

[Text] Bonn—According to FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann, of the Free Democratic Party of Germany [FDP], the loan scheme under the European Recovery Program [ERP] for the GDR has had a good start. He noted that more than 100 applications for loans under the former reconstruction program for the FRG have been received, reaching a total volume of more than 250 million deutsche marks [DM]. The great demand, particularly on the part of medium-sized enterprises in the GDR and the FRG, has proved that this is the right path toward efficiently developing the sector of medium-sized enterprises in the GDR, Haussmann said.

Some DM1.2 billion have been earmarked for ERP loans this year. However, the minister already announced that, if necessary, this amount could be increased. The interest on the loans and the loans themselves must be paid back in deutsche marks. The GDR State Bank exchanges East marks into deutsche marks at a rate of 2.40 for this purpose.

Statistical Report on Economy for Feb

LD1303041990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The level of industrial production per working day was around 6.2 percent lower in February than in the same month last year. The volume of production was roughly in line with that in 1987. This emerges from a report by the GDR Statistical Office on economic and social development in February, published today. The reasons given are further reductions in the labor force, disruption to cooperative relations, and disproportions. On top of this, there is the closing of a number of ecologically harmful enterprises and the drop in demand for coal and energy.

By comparison with January, industrial production had risen by 1.6 percent, so that the reduction that had occurred from November 1989 onward did not continue. In February there some 120,000—4.2 percent—fewer workers than one year ago. Building production rose by comparison with January by 8.6 percent, but was nevertheless 11.8 percent lower than in 1989. In February 1990, 4,126 apartments were built and 3,343 modernized—that is 2,129 and 5,501 fewer than a year ago.

Some 47,148 citizens went to the Labor Offices in search of work. At the beginning of March 13,772 jobless people were registered.

The net money income of the people rose in February by 12.7 percent. Since the beginning of the year, savings have dropped slightly and at the end of February were 175.6 billion deutsche marks. The retail trade turnover rose by comparison with the same month last year by 10.9 percent, including 4.9 percent in food and semiluxury goods and 16.3 percent in industrial goods.

Government Establishes Statistics Office

LD0903225290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The State Central Administration for Statistics has been turned into a "GDR Statistics Office". The office, which includes the Statistical Central Office and its subordinate bezirk and kreis offices, will be headed by a president and will be an independent organ of the Council of Ministers. This emerged from a Council of Ministers resolution of 8 March on the "responsibility, tasks, and rights of the GDR Statistics Office (STAT) in the process of renewal." The working principles will be nonpartisanship, objectivity, academic independence, and efficiency.

SPD's Lafontaine Addresses Jena Election Rally

LD1203212990 Hamburg DPA in German 1802 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Jena (DPA)—According to Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] Deputy Chairman Oskar Lafontaine, on the question of how the two German states should grow together, the problem of social justice is more important than an assumption of the Basic Law under Article 23. For the GDR, the dicate of the hour is to develop the social security system in order to finance unemployment and pensions, the chancellor candidate-designate said at the GDR SPD election rally in Jena this evening.

Among the most important questions, Lafontaine included a modern power supply for the GDR in order to drastically reduce air pollution. In addition, modern transport and communications systems must be developed. This requires sacrifices by the Federal Republic, too. In order to support developments in the GDR, the company tax must not be lowered now, and more money must not be spent on resettlers. There must also be cuts in the defense budget. "We don't need any more modern combat aircraft," Lafontaine shouted, to the applause of several thousand people in Jena's Market Square.

Lafontaine promised GDR citizens that their savings are secure. Saving accounts will not be devalued but will be

exchanged at a rate of one to one. But fixed dates must be set in order to thwart speculators from the West.

Lafontaine spoke strongly in favor of taking into account neighbors' security interests in the unification process. There must be no doubts about the recognition of Poland's western border. The future path lies in a system of collective security.

In referring to the election campaign in the GDR, Lafontaine attacked German Social Union [DSU] Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling. He had not met him earlier among the opponents of the system. The present DSU leader always kept his church closed and only opened it at the last moment. "Pastor Ebeling was shit scared."

Modrow Enters Election Campaign

LD1303111890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Waren (ADN)—GDR Premier Modrow, who is a candidate for the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], entered the election campaign for the first time in Neubrandenburg today. In talks with voters on a visit to a large bakery in Waren this morning, he said that the neighbors ought not to have to fear unification of the two German states. If the border with Poland is not guaranteed, this will have an impact on all of Europe. In response to a question on whether he will again be available for the post of premier, he said that will be decided by the election result. He will not turn down an election.

This afternoon the PDS top candidate will continue his all-day visit to his constituency with talks at the Daberkow agricultural producer cooperative and a rally in Demmin. This evening Modrow is expected to make a speech at a major rally in the Neubrandenburg speedway stadium.

Communist Party Protests Forged Leaflets

LD1303120290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1050 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Communist Party of Germany (KPD) protests in a press release issued today against the dissemination of "forged KPD leaflets". For some days leaflets from a KPD central organ "Roter Morgen" have been in circulation calling on voters to elect the Party for Democratic Socialism to the People's Chamber. The KPD would only take part in later elections. "We protest strongly against this form of 'electoral aid' from the other part of Germany and will examine the possibility of pressing charges," the statement says. The leaflets are a conscious attempt to mislead the voters. "We emphasize that we are taking part in the elections to the People's Chamber as the Communist Party of Germany on List 17." [passage omitted]

German-German SPD Commission on Unity

LD1103173390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—A week before the People's Chamber election in the GDR, the German-German commission of the two social-democratic parties adopted a joint statement on German unity in Leipzig on Sunday. According to Stefan Hilsberg, East Social Democratic Party [SPD] business manager, it has been stipulated that after 18 March a social market economy is to be implemented in the GDR. A socially safeguarded monetary union with the Federal Republic is also to be established as quickly as possible.

Rents in the GDR should remain socially linked and the land reform of 1964 will remain the legal basis. The SPD intends to recognize the referendum that at the time had led to the land reform, Hilsberg said. North Rhine Westphalia's Prime Minister Johannes Rau, who is chairing the Western side of the commission, demanded that land should once again become eligible as collateral. However, one should not go back to the period before 1945.

Commission News Conference

LD1203024590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—In the event of election victory, the SPD [Social Democratic Party] will support a rapid introduction of the social market economy in the GDR. This was stated by executive member Stefan Hilsberg in Leipzig today at an international new conference marking discussions held by the German-German commission of the two SPDs. A rapid, but not overhasty, unity of Germany, socially safeguarded monetary reform with an exchange rate of 1:1, socially linked rents, pension increases, active measures to create jobs, and the recognition of the land reform as a legal basis are features of a so-called "Leipzig Declaration", which Hilsberg read.

FRG SPD Deputy Chairman Johannes Rau, regretted a certain "election tiredness" in the GDR, which could still be corrected by 18 March. The Social Democrats from the East and the West were of one view that the SPD would emerge from the elections as the strongest political force and would put forward the prime minister. A coalition with the Party for Democratic Socialism was strictly ruled out. "With whom we will form a coalition is a secret that we will air only after 18 March", Hilsberg said.

SPD Leaders on German Unity Aims

LD1203104390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1848 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—In Magdeburg's Cathedral Square today Markus Meckel, GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] deputy chairman, spoke in support of a

council of German unity consisting of representatives from both German parliaments and with Willy Brandt at its head. After 57 years, the people in this part of Germany now have the opportunity to decide which government they want. After 18 March what the majority of the people want—German unity—should be made in binding obligation and should come about as soon as it is possibly feasible. The SPD wants to be honest and credible with regard to what it is now saying and will later do. That is why his party has submitted a timetable for German unity that first of all deals with the economic prospects. "We also need a commitment, a treaty on German unity that lays down this path between the two German states and that is recognized by our neighbours and the great powers," Meckel said.

SPD Deputy Chairman Oskar Lafontaine said that for him unity means the people in the GDR having the same standard of living as the people in the FRG. Discussions about borders and articles of the Constitution do not solve the problems. Irrespective of what the people of the GDR decide with respect to Article 23 or Article 146, the first thing to be solved is the social problem.

At a news conference, GDR Social Democrats explained their ideas on administrative reform. One of the motions that should be submitted to the new People's Chamber was that in the local government elections of 6 May the districts should be elected according to the 1952 structures, in order to begin the administrative reform from the bottom.

Party Leaders View Unification Issues

LD1203130590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1157 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The direct annexation [anschluss] of the GDR to the FRG is a wildcat idea. This was said by Otto Graf Lambsdorff, FRG Free Democratic Party [FDP] chairman, at an international news conference in Berlin today. A seamless takeover can be completely ruled out. Article 23 of the Federal Republic's Basic Law offers the opportunity to achieve unity by, first of all, a freely elected GDR Government unilaterally making a request and, second, certain formal juridical steps being taken.

The leading candidate of the GDR League of Free Democrats, Dr. Bruno Menzel, said that the salient points for the first freely elected parliament in the GDR must be economic, monetary, and social union. On the question of the speed of German unity, the League of Free Democrats holds a different view than the Alliance for Germany: nothing should be done too hastily.

Lambsdorff and Mischnick, FDP Bundestag group chairman, have been taking part at a presidium meeting of the FRG FDP and the GDR League of Free Democrats. [passage omitted]

Planned CDU/CSU Meeting in GDR Rejected

AU1203162390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Mar 90 p 1

[ND report: "Outraged at CDU/CSU Meeting in GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Presidium of the Party Executive Committee of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] has stated with outrage that, after the occupation of the GDR by West German politicians during the election campaign, they are now even beginning—in violation of international law—to incorporate the GDR into the FRG: The Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU] Bundestag group has made plans to hold a meeting outside FRG territory—on the GDR's territory.

These practices prove that the CDU/CSU is not at all interested in a process of unification but only in expanding the FRG by incorporating the GDR.

This total disrespect for international law, which is today directed against the GDR, might even affect other states in the future. If the CDU/CSU's desire to expand is not stopped, it might become a decisive element for Europe's future.

* SPD-East Deputy Head Meckel Profiled

90EG0203A Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 44 No 10, 5 Mar 90 pp 59-66

[Article by Juergen Leinemann: "It's Going the Way It Had To Go"]

[Text] Some reserved glances fell upon the man hidden from view on the Executive Committee stand at the party convention of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in Leipzig. Many made a detour around the cold, serious phenomenon with the wooly black beard.

Markus Meckel, a country preacher who just turned 37 and who considers himself a founding father of the Social Democrats in the GDR, two weeks ago had to witness that the spirits he invoked began to frolic without him.

Weren't they even leading him around by the nose already? Actually, Meckel, the philosopher and "strict thinker," the aggressive, somewhat brilliantly performing fighter—as his party spokesman Steffen Reiche calls him—wanted to become the first democratically elected prime minister of the GDR against the misanthropic omnipotence of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. And many in Bonn consider him to be the sharpest analytical mind in the sister party: capable of taking charge and also hardier than other candidates.

Instead, the glib Ibrahim Boehme, this travel- and press-crazed man, whose participation Meckel and his friend Martin Gutzeit solicited during the period of illegality of the Stasi and whom they later kept isolated in the Party, is now chairman and the celebrated top candidate of the SDP-East.

However, it was Meckel who then only got three of 32 votes from the comrades of the Executive Committee—most of them theologians like him—during the first hours of the Founder's Executive Committee in Leipzig. No one recommended him as a deputy. And the delegates elected him a vice deputy only after Boehme supported him almost beseechingly at the Party Convention.

Markus Meckel accepted the election results. He did so with that wooden dignity that always makes him appear somewhat uncanny because everyone senses the ambition behind the movements—nearly as lingering as slow motion—that foreshadow explosive power and hide beneath hushed vocal modulation and between words void of emotion. There is a modesty that seems presumptuous, and Meckel displayed it to the delegates outlandishly—probably unconsciously.

Is he hurt? Does he sense the isolation he has slipped into? Does he see reasons for this? His intensively green eyes perceive someone he is facing only after a delay and must be brought into close focus with some exertion from a misty gaze into a profound depth. Hurt? The response question sounds confused as though he does not know the word. No, he is surprised. He says it in such a way as though—knowing better—he underestimates the stupidity of his fellow man he relies on from experience. All the same, he sounds less arrogant than helpless and unconscious.

Markus Meckel sometimes got "very dizzy" even long before the Party Convention when he experienced how his Party that had dreamed and thought about as well as discussed for years began to develop its own reality. He said as early as in December that he felt "overwhelmed in the double sense of word." Markus Meckel, the sorcerer's apprentice?

He does not see himself like that. At best, the development has transpired too turbulently for him to carry out the buildup of a powerful Party apparatus. His friend, Gutzeit, briefly synthesizes their decisiveness: "Whatever we decide on, we also see it through."

Whoever experiences Meckel in a nearly playful conversation with his friend of the same age may, in fact, be disconcerted by the strongman-like sounding noise—which is nearly pubescent in tone—with which both describe the revolutionary success of the founding of their party as an inevitable process in the sense of philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel which they brought about—following many years of careful analysis, of course. Gutzeit states "This certainly demonstrates that our paper at that time resulted from a knowledge of reality." And Meckel is certain: "It's going the way it had to go, only faster. Sensibility gives rise to reality."

Both pastor's sons tell, with fiendish enjoyment, that they already knew when they finally sat down together the night of 24 July of last year to put on paper the initiative appeal to found an SPD-East after many years of discussions and consultations. According to Gutzeit, they had such "metaphysical fun that the house must have groaned with their laughter. We knew we had started a game the others could not win."

Suffering from a crippling feeling of unconsciousness that controlled the political situation in the GDR, Meckel—rebellious since his youth—had always looked for a way "to unhinge the whole thing." Now the friends talk about their "responsibility for their own reality." They believed and believe every word from their "matador" Hegel that the "persuasiveness of reality" would then change the world.

Thus, it was not the collapse of the SED regime that surprised both of them, nor was it the development of the new SDP of the GDR into a people's party; Meckel prophesied all this at that founding convention in the vicarage in Schwante on 7 October when he and his 42 cohorts still reckoned with being arrested a little later.

The friends were so sure of their undertaking that they amused a gathering during a private celebration in a cellar bar in East Berlin's Nikolai District last July with the announcement that they would soon be able to comfortably walk to their place of employment from here: the government benches. Of course, Gutzeit estimated at that time it would still take 10 years.

Markus Meckel is not even surprised at the idea that this prophecy could come true in March of this year. It irritates him even more that he appears to be standing in his own way to a great extent. Some say he is too self-aggrandizing and high-handed; others say he is too professionally cool. Some of his first friends find him calculating and manoeuvering; others find him power hungry and elitist.

It certainly was no wonder that Party friends preferred the more sociable Boehme. Meckel himself admits, that he does not bustle around in the chaos of the SPD headquarters rigidly and in a dignified manner, but loaded with energy and harshly. Impatient with slow thinkers and vague chatterers, he calls them "political absurdities," and he snubs former allies from the underground opposition in a rude tone: "One cannot form coalitions with anarchists."

It profoundly frightens those surrounding him and isolates him increasingly that the man who can be so gentle and helpful in private dealings, who patiently listens to his friend's worries and is willing to understand others to the point of self-effacement "because one must take people seriously," that this gentle Markus Meckel suddenly jumps up and slams doors, takes works out of the hands of clumsy staff members, and relegates important matters only to confidants and excludes others.

Martin Gutzeit is not afraid to tell his friend such weaknesses face to face. Although he still sees much "injured vanity of mediocrity" in the game, he knows: "Markus needs someone to show him a yellow flag now and then." However, he finds the reproach that he and

Meckel are "elitist" ridiculous: "If we had not had this elitist component, the party would never have come into being."

In fact, precisely here lies a dilemma that Markus Meckel shares with many intellectuals from the opposition period of the GDR. With a radical and idealist body of thought, they denounced the chasm between the "absolute claim of truth and power of the SED" (Meckel) and disconsolate, mediocre reality and argued the ideal values of Socialism compared to the perversion by the de facto existing regime.

Now that they themselves must wield power, they suffer from the inevitable betrayal of their ideals and find that they caused covetousness they had never thought of even in the West. Gutzeit: "One is frightened of how much power one has." That makes them sensitive and high-strung.

In contrast to Baerbel Bohley and Konrad Weiss, for example, Markus Meckel can hardly escape these internal contradictions because he dealt with the question of power from the outset. He wanted a party to take responsibility at the latest one year ago. These idiotic, vague group structures in which opposition, in his view, trickles away must be eliminated.

In view of the compromises Meckel has since agreed to for the purpose of his party's eligibility for office, his strict founding father attitude based on dominion over a higher truth sounds hardly convincing, of course. Markus Meckel—flaunting Hegel and correcting Party patriarch Marx—demands political subjugation rather than partnership in spite of all human friendliness and Christian charity in his private realm.

He feels legitimized in this, because vaguely fooling around with thoughts has never been Meckel's Marx-Hegel game. Theoretically, he firmed up his hypotheses, according to Meckel, "in innumerable hours at his desk and with hundreds of philosophical discussions in peace seminars, human rights groups and 'couch speeches' among theologians." The State Security spies waiting in front of his house door in Niederndodeleben near Magdeburg, where he had to flee through the cemetery to escape them, the constant clicking in the telephone line, the repulsive slandering among his Church superiors, briefly: the omnipresent genuine threat by the dictators also took away from them (only the intellectuals) the trait of being out of touch with life. Gutzeit states succinctly, "We certainly could have been shot."

In addition, the speed with which his analyses created reality confirmed their absolute validity for him. Thus, when Meckel now asks his Party friends for their opinion, he wants confirmation; he views lack of agreement as intellectual weakness, not as a social need for partnership.

The loneliness Markus has manoeuvered himself into with his standards apparently confuses him. Of course, he still feels supported rather than discouraged, at least as long as he knows Martin Gutzeit is loyally at his side. The pastor's son lived through being an "outsider," a belated "1968 supporter" and an "enfant terrible" in the politically sterile and encapsulated world of the GDR, even in the church, all his life. In truth, the young founding father of the SDP has remained a rebellious son to this day.

Meckel proudly recounts political arguments with his own father, his schoolteachers, as a student spokesman at the Theological Academy in Berlin and—starting in 1982—as curate and pastor in Mecklenburg. The wooly-bearded Meckel in the village of Vipperow, who followed his colleague Gutzeit (whose hair nearly cascaded to his hips) into the neighboring village and became a source of disorderliness in the country community. His peace and human rights seminars attracted colorful figures from everywhere in Europe, East and West. (Of course, also the State Security Service!) Their life—his wife is a potter —takes on characteristics of brilliant leading and State characters from 19th century literature in Meckel's narratives.

Such challenging behavior in the bourgeois supervised world of German authority Socialism would have been political anyway. Markus Meckel—accustomed to political discussion in his parent's house from childhood on—views his studies (which he nearly automatically takes up) and his life as a social task, of course even deliberately. And it also is no coincidence that he decided to found a Social Democratic Party, even if Martin Gutzeit gave the relevant impetus in January, 1989. The Meckels, who come from Wuppertal, have already been pious Social Democrats since great grandfather's time. His father admired Willy Brandt all his life. "Brandt was a nice childhood memory for me long before I got to know him."

Nonetheless, Markus Meckel has avoided making contact with Western comrades prior to his SDP initiative: "Nobody bumped into me, and I didn't look for anyone."

On the contrary, Meckel was pleased that Western Socialists Karsten, Voigt and Walter Momper kept their distance two days after introduction of the founding initiative on 25 August 1989 during a human rights seminar in East Berlin. "That demonstrated we were not just an offshoot."

Four men signed the initiative appeal in August: in addition to Meckel, Gutzeit and Boehme, a university chaplain from Greifswald, Arndt Noack, who has since resumed his pastoral work. However, Markus Meckel read the paper, just as he gave the program speech of principles at the concluding Party founding in Schwante. Neither Meckel nor his cohorts doubted until the Party Convention that he is the brains and driving force of the party, always driven and supported by his friend Gutzeit.

In truth, he does little to shake off the "gigantic responsibility" and the "obtuse master role" he did not want

and complains about having slipped into. He does not complain so spiritedly about rushing back and forth without an apartment in Berlin and hardly seeing his wife and three children. His friends consider it a sacrifice they should emulate.

Ibrahim Boehme justified this when he was elected chairman. He hugged Meckel at length and with unrestrained cordiality, not briefly and full of nervous discomfort. "We're sticking together," he whispered in his ear.

However, the competitiveness—possibly not even personally desired—is now present. It will rear its head again at the latest during distribution of responsibility in the future government. In self-mockery, Markus Meckel reports that he has received a tie as a gift and that he his willing to shave off his thick beard "step by step, so that no loss of identity occurs."

He does not want to leave out external signals of adaptation. Nonetheless, both leave no doubts that he and Gutzeit are still determined to continue their labor that is recognized as sensible. "We certainly do not do this in order to make others elements of ourselves," he says in self defense. "No," says Gutzeit, "they only create facts because you cannot convince anyone with arguments."

Intellectually, the East Berlin rebel twosome certainly is aware that such high-handedness will continue to create discouragement in a democratic party. Gutzeit, who credibly says of himself he needs no power and no political office for self-fulfillment, and is attempting to bring about reconciliation and equity toward the other executive committee members. However, today as was the case prior to establishment of the party, Markus Meckel has only his friend as a discussion partner. Will that suffice for rectification? Meckel guesses: "Such one-on-one discussions are hugs and not communication."

Alliance Victory Would Mean 'Quick Unification'

AU1103215090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Mar 90 p 2

[NZ/ADN report: "An Election Victory by the Alliance Would Be Followed by Quick Unification"]

[Text] Erfurt (NZ/ADN)—If the Alliance wins the elections, the new People's Chamber would work for the fastest possible accession to the FRG under renunciation of any kind of independence as a state. This is the common goal of the three Alliance parties in Thuringia and of the Hesse Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. This was stated by the four parties' land chairmen at a news conference in Erfurt on 6 March.

Accession is to take place under Article 23 of the Bonn Basic Law, which permits German territories to accede to the FRG. Walter Wallmann, minister president of Hesse and CDU land chairman, explained that, according to this article, a unilateral statement by one or more land parliaments is sufficient. For the transition period, an integration law with special regulations for several years concerning rents or other specific issues is conceivable, as happened when Saarland joined the FRG in 1956.

Horst Schulz, Thuringian land chairman of Democratic Awakening, stressed in his introduction that such a regulation does not need any protracted changes in the Constitution, "only the cancellation of the current GDR Constitution and the reintroduction of the Constitution of 1949" with the old land structures. He thinks that diet elections are possible close to the local elections on 6 May. If necessary, a Thuringian Diet will—provided the Alliance wins with a majority—decide on the accession to the FRG alone and without other GDR territories.

PDS Calls for Fair Election Campaign

AU0903172390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Party of Democratic Socialism Appeal on Election Campaign"]

[Text] Over the past days, the election campaign of the parties has become clearly more aggressive. This also applies to putting up posters in our streets and villages. Fliers and posters are being torn, defiled, covered by others, or are illegally put up on advertising pillars for cinema and theater programs, cultural events, other events, or exhibitions. A particularly bad habit is the use of latex as a glue or putting up posters on protected buildings and sandstone facades.

At its election party congress, the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] adopted a statement on the fairness and culture of our election campaign. We once again turn to the PDS' members and friends. Do not participate in an unfair election campaign. We do not impede advertising and information on culture, arts, and sports, and on other organizations. Please, contribute actively to eliminating the ugly traces of the election campaign in the streets, on facades, on cross-bonding boxes, bridges, or lamp posts after 18 March.

Andre Brie, head of the PDS Central Election Office.

Democratic Awakening Outlines Program

LD1203094990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Executive member Rainer Eppelmann presented Democratic Awakening's [DA] detailed program, entitled "Specific Policies for Germany," today at the party election conference in Dresden. It differs in detail from the programs of the other parties who are united in the Alliance for Germany [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union]. According to it, "a series of important steps" should be taken immediately after the elections.

In the economic field, the program advocates the immediate introduction of the right to private property and freedom of trade in order to promote the self-employed and to set in motion a "wave of foundations" of small and medium-sized enterprises. The state should not build up property, and by the same token there should be no restrictions on access for foreign firms and investors.

DA's six-page document is against equity quotas for joint ventures and for the protection of "legally obtained property." Apart from the enterprises necessary for the infrastructure such as the postal service and the railways, the ownership of state enterprises should be sold to interested citizens in the form of people's shares.

According to the program, DA intends to exchange savings of up to 10,000 marks at par and freeze larger balances for three to five years at four percent interest. The occupants of state-owned residences should be helped through loans to buy day-care centers and kindergartens. School meals, family allowances, and educational grants should be retained. The pensions system will be immediately adapted to that of the Federal Republic.

Besides immediate measures for environmental protection and home and legal policy, the unification of the two German states in the spirit of Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law should be accomplished according to the detailed program. During this process it should "be ensured by the proclamation of interim laws that the concerns of the citizens of today's GDR are protected in all areas."

In another paragraph, DA announces unrestricted freedom of the press on the GDR's territory from 1 April 1990 and permitting of all printed and electronic media from the FRG and abroad without restriction.

The party stipulates the unconditional and final recognition of the German-Polish border by verbatim declarations by the People's Chamber and the Bundestag and the recognition of the state of Israel. Foreign policy decisions are to be agreed with the Federal Government.

The majority of the delegates from all GDR areas approved the detailed programme.

NDPD Political Program Reported

LD0903231890

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1830 GMT on 9 March carries a 15-minute political broadcast of the National Democratic Party of Germany, NDPD.

An unidentified announcer introduces People's Chamber Deputies Gero Hammer and Karin Engert and NDPD member Dr. Helmut Spriegade, all of whom are candidates in the 18 March elections.

The announcer asks Hammer whether he feels despondent that the latest opinion polls show just one percent of the population support the NDPD. Hammer replies that there is, of course, no need to feel pessimistic, after all polls only show the electorate's possible intentions. Furthermore, the NDPD is the one party that campaigns without support from outside the GDR and has thus attracted less publicity. Asked by the announcer whether the NDPD feels marginalized because of its lack of a coalition partner, Hammer replies that any constructive coalition talks can and will he held after the elections. The NDPD is a strong supporter of the arts, and thus the announcer wants to know whether the party sees any need for cuts in the arts and cultural affairs. Hammer believes that cuts can and should be avoided.

Next the announcer asks (Spriegade) about the NDPD'S ecology concept. Spriegade says that a great amount of work is necessary. The ecology concept should be taught in schools. Ecology should not be sacrificed to the market economy. If properly tackled ecology and market economy can go hand in hand without damaging the environment.

The announcer asks Karin Engert about the NDPD's view of trade unions and private industry. The NDPD voted in the People's Chamber for the new trade union law and the presenter wonders whether strong trade unions and strong private industry, both of which are concepts championed by the NDPD, can be reconciled. Engert suggests that social justice can prevail, providing the economy is properly run and given the right trade union legislation and profitable and efficient private industry.

The announcer asks Hammer to make a final, brief appeal to the electorate. Hammer stresses that the NDPD was among the first of the parties after the change who called for a confederation, who proposed constructive measures both in the Modrow government and at the roundtable. In fact, the electorate should bear in mind that it was thanks to the NDPD initiatives that so many commonsense measures have been adopted.

National Citizens Movement Opens 1st Congress

LD1003150290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1259 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Approximately 2,200 citizens' committees have been formed throughout the GDR. Dr. Norbert Podewin, member of the initiative for a National Citizens' Movement, stated this at the first congress of this association, which is independent of parties and is a non-profit organization. Podewin said the movement's trademark is practical and tangible help for neighbors. In accordance with the latest government decree, which secures the right of citizens' movements to have a say in local decisions, the citizens' committees will apply themselves to issues of the residential environment, tenants' protection, as well as the care of the elderly, the disabled, and those in need of help. They support the right to work and the right to living space. [passage ommited on debate]

Council of State Issues Local Election Order

LD0903222390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of State, in accordance with Paragraph 43, Section 2, of the Local Election Law adopted on 9 March 1990, has issued instructions to conduct elections to kreis assemblies, city assemblies, borough assemblies, and parish assemblies on 6 May 1990. The election order came into force today. It will be published immediately in the GDR Law Gazette.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate in Leipzig

LD1203174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1659 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The traditional Monday demonstration in Leipzig came to an end with a rally on Karl-Marx Platz and a subsequent march around the city center ring road. At about 1800, tens of thousands of Leipzigers and fair guests gathered once again on the square in front of the Opera.

Various public figures of the city, including the Gewandhaus Orchestra conductor, Professor Kurt Masur, and Superintendent Friedrich Magirius, organized the rally.

Modrow Visits Leipzig Fair Exhibitions

Roundup of Activities

LD1203044190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1206 GMT 11 Mar 90

["Modrow at Leipzig Fair—ADN Roundup"—ADN headline]

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—To preserve the achievements of the 825-year-old exhibition history of Leipzig and to take advantage of the conditions created by the new economic reform and the change-over to the market economy—that was the tenor of the talks conducted by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow today while visiting the stands of GDR and foreign exhibitors at the Leipzig Fair. [passage omitted]

Efforts at developing and improving trade were confirmed by Prime Minister Modrow at the Soviet pavilion, as well as in his talks with interlocutors from the CSSR and Poland. Despite the complicated situation in these countries, the intention is to do everything in order to fulfill the agreements concluded for this year. Hans Modrow affirmed for his Polish interlocutors his view of the finality of the Oder-Neisse border. In the present complicated unification process, the peoples of Europe have a right to have the questions regarding this border clarified. He believed that clarification would take place in the "four-plus-two" negotiations. Modrow learned at the FRG enterprise KRUPP that the intention is to use the deepened relations with GDR partners for the further economic expansion in the CEMA region.

The GDR prime minister also talked to people at the stands of exhibitors from Sweden, Switzerland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Romania.

The fair's opening was already marked by numerous meetings between GDR representatives and high-ranking guests from the FRG. At lunchtime the GDR prime minister gave a cocktail party for the strongly represented international industry and trade.

Modrow on Yugoslav Trade

LD1203044590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1315 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig, March 11 (TANJUG)—The level of trade between Yugoslavia and the German Democratic Republic of approximately one billion dollars a year should be maintained and, if possible, increased, East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow said here today during a visit to the Yugoslav pavilion at the Leipzig Fair.

Modrow favourably assessed the countries' overall and economic relations.

Of the 9,000 exhibitors from 69 countries at the Leipzig Fair that opened today, 500 are from Yugoslavia.

Modrow Views Fair Visit

LD1203105290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The anniversary Leipzig Fair is proving to be what it expects of itself—to be and to remain a place of trade for East and West—GDR Premier Modrow said in an interview for GDR radio and ADN after his visit to the fair and his talks with many politicians and economic experts.

His most important impression is that it is, above all, this aspect that has been repeatedly reflected in the meeting and questions of the future. Everyone assumes that the GDR is an important trading partner. The inclusion of the GDR in a united Germany must also mean the inclusion of these trade relations. In these he counts first of all the economic contacts with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries.

The concept put forward by the government for the internationalization of the GDR's economy has been accepted by experts in the GDR, the FRG, and other countries. It is apparent here that those combines and enterprises that have longer-standing relations with Western countries are now entering the market economy more quickly. Modrow also said that internationalization must not be restricted to joint bilateral work.

On the Leipzig fair's future role, he said that this is the very trading center through that jobs can be preserved.

Stasi Employees Continue Work

AU1303073090 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 12 Mar 90 pp 45-50

[Unattributed report: "Penetrated by the Special Task Officers"]

[Text] Outraged, Werner Fischer argued with head of government Hans Modrow. The government representative for the dissolution of the former Ministry of State Security (MfS) told Modrow that there must finally be an end to Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt's permitting about 3,000 former Stasi [State Security Service] employees to work without being controlled in his ministry.

In partial violation of orders by the roundtable, the coding service in Hoppegarten, large parts of the former personal protection and antiterror units, highly specialized criminal investigators, and the ammunitions and rescue squads were taken over by the Ministry of Internal Affairs; often, the government committee learned about this only after the event, Fischer told Modrow the week before last. Therefore, Ahrendt has to vacate his post before the People's Chamber elections on 18 March.

However, such a short time before the elections, Modrow did not want to replace his PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] comrade Ahrendt. In agreement with the official government representatives for the dissolution of the Stasi, the Normannenstrasse Citizens' Committee, and the roundtable, he simply put a new government representative, East Berlin student priest Dankward Brinksmeier, at the interior minister's side to keep an eye on him. Without Brinksmeier's agreement, the premier said, Stasi employees could no longer be hired. When there was doubt, he himself would have the last word.

The premier's decision came late and had no effect because over the past months several ministers of the Modrow government have tried to employ hundreds of former Stasi members in GDR state service or make former Stasi groups independent as cohesive units. Thus, over the heads of the roundtable and the officials responsible for the dissolution of the Stasi, an MfS department with about 300 men was taken almost completely into the East Berlin Foreign Ministry: the "GDR State Radio Operations Service" (SFD).

Only a few indoctrinated persons knew about this seemingly insignificant department, whose location is about one hour by car to the northeast of Berlin, near Willmersdorf, as "N-X Subdepartment" of the former MfS—responsible not only for all radio equipment of the GDR's representations abroad but also for the listening and security devices installed there. Secretly and at the order of Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, SFD employees were taken into the "Foreign Relations Center" of the East Berlin Foreign Ministry as of 1 January.

Erich Mielke's former employees in Willmersdorf, an MfS insider says, not only controlled the official radio network but had also installed listening devices and security facilities in the embassies, consulates, and trade missions and had established an independent intelligence section for radio traffic with the MfS headquarters in East Berlin. In addition, they supported the espionage work of the local MfS employees. Often not even the ambassador himself knew which of his employees worked for the MfS. The resident, that is, the chief of the Stasi people in one of the GDR's representations abroad, could be anyone—even one of the chauffeurs.

Therefore, there are still dozens of MfS spies and SFD engineers in the GDR embassies. According to former Stasi employees, most listening devices are fully operational. The SFD radio operators in the embassies are the same ones as ever, their connections with the Stasi headquarters can be used again at any time.

After the changeover at the Foreign Ministry, almost everything remains just as it has always been. Almost all the personnel were taken over, including about 250 Stasi officers, according to information available to DER SPIEGEL. SFD chief Colonel Kempe also remained at his post.

According to its own information, the East Berlin Foreign Ministry does not know anything about the official ranks and the former espionage work of the SFD members. Herbert Kath, head of the Foreign Relations Center, says that he only knows that the SFD was part of the MfS in the past. However, he was "not given any personnel files" when the employees were taken over by the Foreign Ministry.

Such or similar forms of covering tracks also characterize other shiftings of MfS units. For some weeks, the National People's Army (NVA) has been employing former Stasi officers as guards in its headquarters in Strausberg. Probably the largest transfer of MfS employees was also initiated by the GDR Ministry of National Defense.

According to information obtained by DER SPIEGEL, already in December 1989 Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann and the leadership of the former Main Department I of the MfS (HA I), responsible for safeguarding the NVA and the border troops, started a secret takeover attempt. Under the leadership of Heinz Grawunder, who was the head of the "Ministry of National Defense Department" in the HA I and had thus for a long time been the most important contact between the Army leadership and Mielke's ministry, the entire HA I was transferred to the Defense Ministry.

At first, the salaries of the MfS people continued to be paid from the Stasi budget, but about 50 percent of the HA I employees were fired. "Most of them were sent to customs," a former MfS officer reports, "the rest, about 600 people, started again to revive their old sources of information." Only in mid-January was the action stopped. Almost all MfS employees of HA I had to vacate their posts in the Army. Only Colonel Heinz Grawunder (internal MfS nickname: "the Count"), the

head of the spy group, is still in the NVA headquarters in Strausberg, together with some confidants from his old department.

A Defense Ministry spokesman claims that Grawunder is busy "with dissolving the department." At the same time, however, he assists NVA Col. Klose in preparing the establishment of a new military counterintelligence service of the GDR Army. This service is to start on 1 April—"subject to the the new government's decision."

The people who check on the dissolution of the Stasi are hardly able to see through the background of such actions. "Even though we have achieved the essential thing, that is, we have made the State Security incapable of action," Hannelore Koehler of the Normannenstrasse Citizens' Committee says, "we are still far from knowing the real structures."

Therefore, those who are dissolving the Stasi are still suspicious of the Council of Ministers' decision of 13 January to have the former MfS department "Operational Technical Sector" (OTS)—together with the covert subcontractor "Institute for Scientific Instrument Construction" (ITU)—continue as state-owned enterprises.

Meanwhile, it has been learned that the OTS and the ITU were Mielke's "bug" constructors and money forgers. In their work shops, such as, among others, in Freinwalder Strasse and Koepenicker Strasse in Berlin, there were some of the GDR's best craftsmen. They printed forged money and developed software for computers, which had been secretly acquired in the West, rigged up mini-cameras for observations and false keys for secret searches of apartments.

Since January this department has been called "VEB [state-owned enterprise] engineering company for scientific instrument construction." The roundtable's request to rescind the Council of Ministers' decision has been ignored. The Economics Ministry, which is now responsible, insists that the company is exclusively dealing with the development of civilian measuring and automation technology. The old MfS heads have been fired, the former structures have been destroyed. Social control over the new VEB has been ensured.

Hundreds of apartments, where conspiratorial meetings took place until the beginning of January, have meanwhile been removed from access by those who are dissolving the Stasi. A few of them are still used by isolated MfS units, others have simply been appropriated by former MfS employees. Many of Mielke's most important agents will probably never be found again: the special task officers (Stasi acronym "OibE").

They had been introduced by the MfS as regular employees at key positions of ministries, enterprises, or universities and had been working there—sometimes for decades—as spies, without anyone on the outside having been able to distinguish them from the other employees.

All ministries, in particular the Foreign and the Interior Ministry, as well as the criminal investigation departments in the communities, the border troops, and the customs have been penetrated by OibE. Many personnel chiefs of larger combines and their security officers ("SB Cadres") were MfS officers—always two gentlemen on duty at the same time. And they are still at their posts. Only the officers and their controllers know about this. The personnel files, on the other hand, have largely been destroyed.

Report on Former Office of National Security

LD1203164790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Up to 12 March this year, 96 per cent of the former workers of the Office of National Security in the areas (bezirk) and 87 per cent of the headquarters in Berlin were made redundant, Werner Fischer of the "Committee of Three," which was given the task of dissolving the Office, said on Monday. In a 20-page report to the roundtable, Fischer reported on the work of the security working group, which was set up on 3 January and is responsible for dismissing the staff and safeguarding the material property of the former Office, in close cooperation with representatives of the government and the Citizens' Committees.

Werner Fischer came out against citizens seeing Office of National Security files on themselves and the sources of these, so as to avoid new injustices. The government that emerges from the People's Chamber elections should decide on what should happen to the personal files. There must be examination of the issue of in which cases there should be criminal proceedings against former Office employees. The work of the Stasi former members was anti-constitutional, the report says, even if it was based on laws valid at the time.

Worker Makes New Revelations About Schnur

LD0903204190 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1500 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] New revelations were made today on Radio Rostock by a former worker of the Ministry of State Security. According to her, [Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang] Schnur passed on information about church peace groups and also about his party colleague Eppelmann. He had worked under the cover name of Torsten for the former Stasi Department 4, which was especially concerned with events within church circles. [passage omitted]

DA Leader To Investigate Files on Schnur

LD1303131690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1155 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Peter Kurzhals, the lawyer for Democratic Awakening (DA) Chairman Wolfgang Schnur, intends to view the State Security files on the

latter in Rostock today. This was announced by DA General Secretary Oswald Wutzke in Berlin today at a news conference.

He continued, saying Schnur's health was not yet good enough for him to appear at DA election rallies in Cottbus today and in Leipzig tomorrow. The DA leadership is assuming, however, that the chairman would resume work "in the near future."

At the news conference nothing was made known about the content of the Berlin Stasi files on Schnur. General Secretary Wutzke repeated the statement made the previous evening that DA executive member Pastor Rainer Eppelmann had viewed the files and found nothing "shameful" in their existence. Schnur himself made a written declaration: "I have at no time worked for the Ministry for State Security."

General Secretary Wutzke renewed the charge made by DA against PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi and Premier Hans Modrow, who were responsible for "this Stasi campaign," but could produce no evidence.

National Roundtable Holds Meeting

Endorses Voting on Managers

LD1203220190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0927 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All middle and senior managers in GDR enterprises and institutions should face a secret vote of confidence by the employees, preceded by a debate and public hearing. This motion was put forward by New Forum at the roundtable today. Managers who are voted out must in no way be allowed to continue in their position. A further demand is for an immediate stop to the destruction or return of cadre documents.

The motion met with the political support of almost all parties and groups represented. There was controversy over the content. The Party For Democratic Socialism raised the consideration that the election of enterprise managers could become a "time for demagogues." However, the majority of the roundtable placed trust in the working people's competence.

Democracy Now called for party membership up until 1989 to be entered in personal files. The Social Democratic Party called for a unified ruling on the treatment of cadre documents. This must be in accordance with the requirements on personal data protection.

Favors Study of German Social Union

LD1203222990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1138 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable today recommended to the government the setting up of an independent group of experts to consider social union between the two German states. A proposal to this effect was made by the body's working group on social policy in view of the increasing fears in the population about social questions and the continuing wave of emigration. The experts should negotiate a social order that will guarantee the citizens of the GDR and the FRG a comprehensive social security net.

Supports SPD Privatization Proposal

LD1203223990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable at midday today adopted by a majority a proposal put forward by the Social Democratic Party [SPD] regarding the privatization of publicly owned assets prior to the creation of joint-stock companies. The decree recently adopted by the Modrow government on turning publicly owned combines, enterprises, and institutions, as well as organs that manage industry, into joint-stock companies must be repealed, the SPD demanded. In this spirit, the SPD spokesman said, it has applied for an injunction from the Berlin-Mitte borough court. At the roundtable the SPD came out against "over-hasty privatization" of public assets. The government is pursuing a capitalization program that is unsuited to safeguarding the privatization in equal parts called for by the roundtable. Together with Democracy Now, the SPD called on the government to prepare the privatization of public assets and to install a cartel office to monitor the process of the economy's restructuring. [passage omitted]

Also adopted by a majority was a proposal from the Independent Women's Association to restructure labor offices. [passage omitted]

Suggests 17 Jun for Constitution Vote

LD1203224990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1456 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In the view of the roundtable working group set up to draft a Constitution, there should be a referendum on 17 June 1990 to vote on a new GDR Constitution. The draft of the Constitution, which has been largely completed by the working group, should be put presented for public discussion for about two months before a vote, Gerd Poppe, minister without portfolio, said at the roundtable in Berlin today.

The text is based on the people's wishes and interests, he said. Important principles to be included are social security and justice, the right to strike, and the banning of lock-outs. Regarding "traditional freedoms" it is necessary to counter "new threats" among other things through data protection. The draft is intended to counter all attempts to set up a new big brother state. The Constitution must serve internal and external peace and uphold the nation's unity and the people's self-determination, "whatever aims the people finally back regarding the state unity of Germany." [passage omitted]

Report on Commercial Coordination

LD1203231990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2121 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Willi Lindemann, head of the Council of Ministers' special commission, gave a detailed report to the final session of the roundtable this evening about the work of the "Commercial Coordination" department. According to him, the department's hard-currency expenditure came to 9.2 billion valuta marks in 1989. Of these, 5.1 billion were used for securing the balance of payments, for credits of the German Foreign Trade Bank, and for building up reserves at home and abroad.

Some 3.8 billion were used for imports outside the plan for various sectors of the economy. Another 15 million valuta marks were spent in 1989, according to Dr. Lindemann, for the "privileged treatment of persons and groups of persons". This included, among other things, the purchase of Western industrial goods for members of the former party and state leadership and their relatives and acquaintances. Six to 8 million valuta marks were provided annually for the upkeep of the Wandlitz Estate [where GDR leaders used to live].

In response to a question, Dr. Lindemann said that the "Koko" department had each year received 200 million marks from so-called B-deals, in which the FRG bought the release of detainees in the GDR or the granting of emigration visas.

The roundtable participants were astonished to hear of the 21.2 tonnes of gold that had been seized at "Koko".

Moreth Praises Work of Roundtable

LD1203205590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1733 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Monday evening, the deputy head of government, Dr. Peter Moreth, passed on the thanks of Prime Minister Hans Modrow to all the parties and political groups represented at the roundtable. To the applause of the roundtable, he included in his thanks Church Councillor Ziegler, Monsignor Ducke, and Pastor Lange, who had chaired the body's 16 sessions. Dr. Moreth underlined the government's view that the roundtable had had a major role in ensuring that social reconstruction in the GDR proceeded consistently. Without the roundtable it would scarcely have been possible to maintain social life in the country and to prepare the first free and secret elections, he said. The government has proven that it took the roundtable seriously. The three appearances of Prime Minister Hans Modrow had contributed to a businesslike approach and to consensus. The roundtable had not only helped solve the problems of the present, but had also set guideposts for the future.

After Dr. Moreth spoke, Dr. Wolf read out a final statement on behalf of all the political forces at the roundtable. A good three months ago, the roundtable met on the initiative of those political forces that set the revolution on its course. It had never striven for parliamentary or governmental functions, but had seen itself as an element of public control. Since the first joint discussion with Prime Minister Hans Modrow, the cooperation between the roundtable, the People's Chamber, and the government had become more and more fruitful. Thus eight representatives of the roundtable had, as ministers without portfolio, helped ensure the viability of the transitional cabinet.

The roundtable urged the People's Chamber which will emerge from the elections next Sunday, among other things, to ensure the country's social stability in its own efforts as well as with the help of the FRG and other coutries. The GDR had to live up to its own responsibility for the maintenance of its economic performance. German unity should take place with preservation of the citizens' right to self-determination and with observation of international obligations by the country.

Church Councillor Martin Ziegler said that the three months' work of the roundtable had been a path toward growing knowledge and constructiveness. This was made possible above all by the goverenment's readiness for flourishing cooperation. In this time of change, those involved had themselves undergone changes. "Our work at the roundtable was also a school of democracy."

Cocaine Smuggler Arrested at Berlin Airport

AU0703194290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "GDR Customs Officials Arrest Cocaine Smuggler"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR customs officials discovered approximately 4 kg of cocaine in two specially prepared suitcases in the customs house at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport. The drug smuggler from Colombia was arrested by the customs squad.

People's Police Chief Warns Against Escalations

AU1103174690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Mar 90 p 2

[NZ/ADN report: "Warning Against Escalation of Violence at Rallies"]

[Text] East Berlin (NZ/ADN)—In the view of Major General Dieter Winderlich, deputy interior minister and chief of the German People's Police, the GDR election cmapaign tends toward an escalation of violence. At a news conference in Berlin, the People's Police chief appealed to the country's political forces to stick to reason and tolerance. The incidents were the brawls and clashes on the fringe of the election rallies in Karl-Marx-Stadt and Neubrandenburg on 1 March.

Subsequently, Winderlich described the events on 1 March. According to him, in Karl-Marx-Stadt there were "confrontations" between those attending an election

rally of the "Alliance for Germany" and participants of a counterdemonstration. Maj. Gen. Winderlich said that the People's Police still does not know anything about the use of "clubs" by watchmen at the rally, as the press office of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Social Democratic Party [SPD] reported. In Neubrandenburg, clashes with young counterdemonstrators, including Autonomous Antifascists and "Young Carnations," took place a few minutes after the beginning of an SPD rally. Apart from a "quarrel" about a GDR flag, which was destroyed in the process, nothing happened.

During the news conference, a journalist read a protocol drawn up by counterdemonstrators. According to this, the young people had peacefully joined the participants in the rally and were attacked by them. According to Winderlich, these statements do not coincide with the findings of the responsible People's Police kreis office. However, at present four people are being investigated for personal injury, the major general admitted. On Thursday several young people were taken to a medical institution, from where they were released again after brief treatment.

Maj. Gen. Winderlich briefed the press representatives about a draft law of the Interior Ministry "about the tasks and powers" of the People's Police.

Honecker Letter Rejects Charges, Attacks Krenz

LD1203050190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Erich Honecker, former party leader and head of state of the GDR, has rejected in a letter all charges of abuse of power and personal gain and also attacked his successor Egon Krenz. The letter to the member of the Danish Communist Party Central Committee, Ingmar Wagner, was published in the weekend edition of the communist LAND OF FOLK. Honecker accuses Krenz of not having presented his written defense either to the ninth plenum of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee or to the public. His sucessor was to blame that the SED, as the strongest and leading force of the GDR, was paralyzed, discredited, and smashed. "The way of annexation to the capitalist Federal Republic was launched, despite all the reservations speaking against it," says the three-page handwritten letter that, partly in facsimile, is reproduced on the front page of the Danish paper.

The occasion for the letter was Honecker's thanks for an invitation from Ingmar Wagner to stay at his home rather than in the GDR. Honecker had already let him know on 20 February that because of judicial proceedings against him he could not consider the offer.

Chief of Staff Discusses Soviet Troop Pullout

LD1203221590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report on interview with Army Chief of Staff Laszlo Borsits by correspondent Gyula Horvath on 12 March, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The agreement on the definitive and full withdrawal of Soviet troops was signed on 10 March. It presumably will figure in our grandchildren's—and if everything goes well, our children's—history books. [passage omitted] The interview conducted by Gyula Horvath, who saw the first departing train, indicates that there will be a relief of staff, but it is not exactly a situation in which the Soviet soldiers who are departing will be replaced.

[Begin recording] [Horvath] [passage omitted] Today, the first day, 315 people and 40 infantry armored combat vehicles, together with trucks, which is a force exactly equivalent to that of a motorized rifle battalion, are leaving the country from Hajmasker and Herend. According to Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, the troop withdrawal will become more vigorous.

[Borsits] In the month that remains, another 20 military trains, troop transport trains, and in April, 30 military trains, will leave the country's territory. After this, there will be a mobilization of between 90 and 100 military trains every month for the transport of troops; they will be supplemented by trains for passenger transport and the freight trains necessary for transporting home the quantity of some 15,000 containers that are allocated for the Soviet military families. Therefore, for continuity's sake, beginning today, and with greater intensity after mid-April, 18 military trains will be in motion daily in the country's territory, and they will be transporting the Soviet troops.

Some of these will be loaded at the stations, some of them will run on railways in various areas of the country, and some of them will reload at the Zahony reloading area.

[Horvath] We would like an explanation about something else. It has come to light that there will be a change of staff.

[Borsits] What should be understood by a change of staff is that upon the completion of service in the Soviet Army, the time of service for some of the staff will expire before the withdrawal. Most of these are soldiers who drive important combat vehicles, who handle important equipment. Therefore, to prevent them from having to do service beyond their period, this staff will be taken home, and another staff will arrive to handle the most important equipment, so that the former can continue to be taken home. It is only a matter of the relief of staff.

[Horvath] So if they were not to come, there would be no one to take home the combat...

[Borsits, interrupting] That is exactly so. It is indispensable that there should be such a relief of staff. [end recording]

Text of Agreement on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU1303091390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Agreement on the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Temporarily Stationed on the Territory of the Hungarian Republic"]

[Text] Guided by their efforts to develop the friendly and good neighborly relations between the Hungarian Republic and the USSR and consistently adhering to the basic principles of international law stipulated in the UN Statute and in the CSCE Final Document, including adherence to the principle of sovereignty and non interference in internal affairs, the Government of the Hungarian Republic and the Government of the USSR (the two sides) regard the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary as an organic part of their joint efforts to strengthen European and international confidence and security, and have agreed on the following:

Article 1. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic will commence on 12 March 1990 and will be completed by 30 June 1991.

To be withdrawn are the entire personnel of the Soviet troops, including the Soviet civilian employees and their weapons, combat equipment, and materiel.

The appendix of this agreement contains the schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic, and this appendix is an integral part of this agreement.

Article 2. The Government of the Hungarian Republic will contribute to guaranteeing the conditions necessary for implementing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary's territory.

Article 3. Transportation of Soviet troops and the elimination of various materials and waste remaining in Hungary will be carried out while taking into consideration the interests of the civilian population and observing the regulations for environmental protection.

Article 4. The training and combat activity of the Soviet troops stationed on the territory of the Hungarian Republic—including flights—will be limited.

Article 5. The two sides will nominate their representatives to guarantee the implementation of this agreement, to supervise the orderly withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic, and to register, evaluate, hand over, or sell the various installations and materials by coordinated methods.

Article 6. Until the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Hungarian Republic, the legal

status of the Soviet troops, and the property law, financial, and other issues concerning the temporary deployment of Soviet troops in Hungary will be determined by the agreement on the legal status of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic signed between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of the USSR on 27 May 1957, as well as by the stipulations of other valid Hungarian-Soviet agreements.

Article 7. The property, financial, and other economic issues concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops that are not included in the valid agreements will be regulated by separate agreements. The two sides will take immediate steps to deal with the aforementioned questions by the time of the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Article 8. The two sides will settle disputed issues in respect of the interpretation and application of this agreement, as well as the implementation of the withdrawal in accordance with the planned schedule, within 30 days of the date of submitting the same, in the framework of the joint Hungarian-Soviet commission established on the basis of Article No. 17 of the agreement on the legal status of the Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, signed between the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the USSR Government on 27 May 1957.

If the joint commission is unable to decide on any submitted question, the dispute must be settled through diplomatic channels.

Article 9. The stipulations of this agreement do not apply to the obligations deriving from the existing bilateral and multilateral agreements, including those deriving from the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid signed in Warsaw on 14 May 1955.

Article 10. This agreement shall enter into force on the day it is signed.

Drawn up in Moscow, on 10 March 1990, in two original copies, each in the Hungarian and Russian languages, both texts being authentic.

[Appendix referred to in Article 1 above is not published]

Horn Worried by Effects of Lithuanian Secession

LD1203231690 Budapest MTI in English 2247 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI)—"I am seriously worried that should the individual republics want to withdraw from the union one after the other, this would have a bad effect on Soviet perestroika. The rapid dissolution of the Soviet Union would endanger the stability of not only Europe but the world. I hope that the negotiations launched between Moscow and the Lithuanian leadership will pinpoint a solution of mutual advantages," said Gyula Horn at an election rally in Keszthely on Monday.

The Hungarian foreign minister told MTI that the government had not yet taken a position on restoring the independence of the State of Lithuania.

Mr Horn thinks that the position should wait until the results of the Soviet-Lithuanian talks come to light.

CSSR's Pithart Arrives in Budapest for Talks

LD1303102390 Budapest MTI in English 0905 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—Czechoslovak Prime Minister Petr Pithart arrived in Budapest on Tuesday, and was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by his host, State Minister Imre Pozsgay.

Later today, the Czechoslovak head of government is scheduled to meet Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, Zoltan Gal, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister.

Hungarian party leaders are to call on the Czech politician at his residence late this afternoon.

Concerns Voiced On Slovak Nuclear Power Plant

LD1203115290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 90

[From "The Week" program; participants unidentifiable]

[Text] [Announcer] The inhabitants of Bernecebarati and a good many other villages in Nograd County are concerned about a nuclear power plant. The power plant is being built in Slovakia, some 40 kilometers from the border. The region on both sides of the border is rife with various rumors, hearsay. This could have been avoided if those concerned had given appropriate information about the construction, but this did not happen right up to the beginning of this year. With our present-day outlook, we find it very hard to understand how the Czechoslovak officials at the time thought they could keep such a project secret. Precisely for this reason, "The Week" program sought an answer not to the question why, but what next?

[Reporter] There in the background, behind the hillside, on Slovak territory, is the nuclear power plant, which is now under construction. In Bernecebarati it has given rise to panic. Why?

[First speaker] It has given rise to panic because we know very little about its construction. We could say that we only found out about it when the chimneys emerged from the ground, and this lack of adequate information is inciting alarm here in the village, not only in the village but also in the neighboring villages along the

Ipoly River. We tried to find out what kind of nuclear plant is being built, its capacity.

[Second speaker] What worries us is that once the nuclear power plant is built and the background radiation increases, it could happen, on the one hand, that it endangers our lives, and on the other hand, we might as well stop fruit growing here, because it is obvious that no one is going to buy fruit that has been affected by radiation.

[Reporter] Why are you so pessimistic? After all, nuclear power plants are being built in other parts of the world, too, even in our country—Paks, for examaple

[First speaker] Yes, we are well aware that the wheel of progesss can't be turned back. The main source of the trouble, I think, is the total silence. In other words, not only we, but the villages on the other side as well, for a long time had no knowledge of the fact that a nuclear power plant was being built in the vicinity.

[Reporter] What is it you want?

[First speaker] That the measurements be carried out here, the (?zero) measurements, and that there should be constant continuous measurements here. We know that here in the region, in the Ipoly valley, they would like to build a (?nuclear) waste dump, which is dangerous mainly because our wells lie here in the area of the Ipoly. That is what we are afraid of. At long last we have managed to supply the villages here with good drinking water, and I think that there is fear about the water supply of these villages, both from the point of view of yield and from the point of view of infection.

[Reporter] How can it be that a nuclear power plant has been under construction in the vicinity of the Hungarian border since 1982 and you have only known about it for the last year?

[First speaker] There is no agreement between the two countries that would oblige the parties to give compulsory notification of this kind.

[Reporter] The construction of a nuclear power plant is not something that one wouldn't notice. I imagine that notifications have been made, but perhaps they have not reached you.

[First speaker] Yes, well, our scope of authority extends to the area of the border zone, to six kilmeters from the border, so this lies outside that. The reports lodged by the inhabitants, however, have made it unequivocal to us that a nuclear power plant is being built. For this reason we have turned to the National Nuclear Energy Committee to take up contact with the competent bodies in Slovakia. We are already checking the (?zero) level, in other words, the background radiation values. The first reports on this have been completed. In practice it is a question of reactors that are to be put into operation in 1991. Naturally we are now only getting the natural radiation values. This work is being collated by the National Radiation Biological Institute, and the first partial reports have been completed.

[Reporter] Forgive me for interrupting you, but why don't you inform the population?

[First speaker] On 15 January there was a forum of the population in Bernecebarati, where we informed the local environment protectors about the results to date, and also, since the social changes, since December, the local inhabitants in Slovakia, too, have been getting appropriate information.

[Reporter] Now let us hear the leaders of the Mochovce nuclear power plant. What examinations were carried out before the location was selected? How safe is the power plant?

[Speaker in Slovak, with superimosed translation] Our nuclear power plant here in Mochovce was built after hydrological, meteorological, and geological examinations. A basic requirement is that it should be earthquake-proof. With safety regulations being observed, we also guarantee radiation protection. In the case of a fault, we can localize everything immediately.

[Reporter] Where will the dangerous waste dump be based?

[Speaker] The radioactive waste dump is to be built four kilometers from the nuclear power plant; it will have a capacity of 43,000 cubic meters. This will ensure waste burial for 12 years. We will collect waste here not only from the Mochovce power plant; high-grade radioactive waste from the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant will also be taken there. But I can reassure you that the burned-out heating elements will only be there for a short time. We are also building a waste reservoir in the heart of the nuclear power plant, (?right next to) the reactor.

[Reporter] It is said that the water of the Ipoly region has become endangered because of the nuclear power plant.

[Speaker] I would like to correct the question. It is not a question of the Ipoly River. We take the cooling water for the power plant's operation from the (Hron). For that reason we have built a water reservoir. With that we cool the turbines. Because of our water shortage we use a closed-circuit cooling system, unlike the Paks power plant, which is next to the Danube, from which water for cooling is taken.

[Reporter] Why has this nuclear power plant been built in such secret? People have complained that there was precious little information.

[Speaker] I imagine that the Mochovce power plant was not built in secret. At all events the experts must have known what was being built there. The development of the construction is known generally in our country. As for how well known it is beyond the borders, that I don't know. We have now organized an information group here in Mochovce concerning the nuclear power plant.

Their task is to give information, publicly, to the neighboring population. We would want the population to have no doubt whatever in connection with the operation of the nuclear power plant.

[Reporter] The first briefing has been held in Bernecebarati. The experts came from Slovakia. The people of the tiny hillside village have taken cognizance—for what else could they do—of the fact that after 1991, in the near neighborhood, a nuclear power plant will begin operation.

Official Notes Policy on Magyars Abroad

LD1203114190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai by unidentified announcer; from "The Week" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Announcer] Hungarian policy has accepted responsibility for the Magyars living beyond our borders. This responsibility has also been accepted by the Hungarian Government in power. My question to you is: How much weight, how much effectiveness, does active minority protection have?

[Szokai] [passage omitted] In answer to your question, I would say that Hungarian policy must also show by its deeds that it feels this responsibility and that it undertakes it. What do I have in mind? First and foremost that we have to work out a bilateral and multilateral system of international agreements, so that these people, the Magyars living beyond our borders, should suffer no negative discrimination, no injustice. We have to make it clear to our partners that bilateral relations cannot be developed when the Magyars living in the territories suffer discrimination. In other words, we have to forget that earlier period when we talked about unclouded bilateral relations while the Magyars were exposed to continual humiliation. We must make it clear and unequivocal that the minority issue cannot be exclusively the internal affair of any single state. It is impossible for any issue to be an internal affair that could be the source of international conflicts. And to be sure, here in Central and East Europe, this issue—which we know and see is going on right now—is such an issue.

[Announcer] What is your reaction to the disquieting reports? Do you have adequate information about all of this?

[Szokai] Yes, I believe we have full information. And we broach this, too, at the most varied political discussions. I think that this is an important new element of Hungarian policy, that it does not hide from these things. We raise with our partners in a very serious and firm manner those incidents and political acts which, in our evaluation, afflict the Magyars living there.

[Announcer] This week I took part in a conference of the World Federation of Hungarians. Laszlo Dobos, if I remember right, formulated the need to elaborate a new life strategy for Magyars and to bring into being a so-called monitoring service that would keep a record of where Magyars live, how many there are, and what happens to them.

[Szokai] I also feel this to be very important. Here we have historical experiences, too. It is common knowledge that between the two world wars in Hungary there functioned a state scientific institute, the Teleki Institute, which accumulated and maintained our information on Magyars throughout the world. I would consider it very important if, as soon as possible, the new administration were to take the measures enabling such an institute to come into being. For without basic knowledge of this kind, it is in actual fact not possible to pursue a successful foreign policy either.

[Announcer] I feel that the issue of borders is the most painful point of the new Hungarian foreign policy, because meaning and feeling are seen to clash here. We cannot recognize as just the borders drawn in Trianon and later in the Paris Peace Treaty, and yet for all that we have to accept them as final, as final as anything in history can be. However, I feel that Hungarian foreign policy, which is of an enterprising spirit, still has surprises in reserve in this regard.

[Szokai] It is possible, although I personally feel that after the spectacular events of past years there will now follow a less spectacular, but a very important, period for Hungary and also for Hungarian foreign policy. I think that the guiding principle of the future Hungarian foreign policy, too, must be that the right of self-determination applies to every people and nation. So this cannot be interpreted selectively. And the other important element is that the European borders must not be changed by violent means.

Official Urges Minority Rights Guarantees

LD1303000190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] It probably does not hurt if even obvious truths are laid down on paper. Perhaps this thought guided the members of the Nationality and Ethnic Minority College of the Council of Ministers, who adopted a statement at their session today. In this statement they point out, among other things, that in the future no national, ethnic, or religious minority can become the victim of collective deprivation of civil rights, deportation, or physical annihilation.

Let us listen to the conversation of Gyorgy B. Kiraly with Csaba Tabajdi, deputy minister of nationality affairs, leader of the Nationality and Ethnic Minority Secretariat.

[Begin recording] [Tabajdi] Not long ago Matyas Szuros [interim republic president] said to Vaclav Havel that the Magyars of Slovakia were denied their citizenship for years; that 200,000 Germans were deported after World

War II; that 100,000 Szekely [Magyars of eastern Transylvania] were deported from Bukovina; and that Hungarian and Slovak inhabitants were exchanged, and not on behalf of the Hungarian Government but rather the Czechoslovak Government at the time—and thus there are a lot of grievances from the past, which have to be dealt with at last—and if nothing else, a moral compensation has to be given, also for the future, if we want a new Europe, so that these cannot be repeated.

[Kiraly] In the statement that you intend to publish on 15 March, it is written, among other things, that the victims you have talked about have the right to compensation. How do you envision this?

[Tabijdi] Part of this process has already started with regard to the Germans. This has to be carried out with the utmost circumspection, because whether Hungary has a right to demand compensation from Germany has to be examined. Thus the whole circle of questions have to be examined in their complexity.

[Kiraly] This is exactly the reason why I asked this, because here international agreements will have to be taken into consideration; thus it was not exclusively a Hungarian affair—not only an internal affair.

[Tabajdi] This is precisely what we want the Hungarian Government and Hungarian society to be prepared for.

[Kiraly] Let us come back from the past to the present. There are certain anti-Semitic, anti-Gypsy manifestations appearing on walls, on posters, and in the streetcars that are insulting to certain ethnic and religious minorities of Hungary. I think that attention ought to be paid to these, too, before the elections.

[Tabajdi] This is why we want to start an action involving the young people of secondary schools, various organizations, the scouts, and DEMISZ [Hungarian Democratic Youth League], so that outside of the parties, in a sense, all the slogans against Gypsies, Jews and minorities would be eliminated in the country.

We would like to launch a national campaign for this, and we would like to call to the attention of the parties that the rancor of the parties and the witch hunt have already taken up tones of hostility against the minorities. Emotions ought to be curtailed. Here, in Central Europe, there will be no reconciliation unless the collective community rights of minorities living here are guaranteed. [end recording]

Assembly Speaker Ready To Consider Nemeth Case

LD1203192790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The National Assembly's acting speaker is ready to immediately recall the Parliamentary Committee on Immunity and Incompatibility, if he is formally requested to do so, in order to consider the case of the Council of Ministers chairman.

Last week the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] filed charges with the director of public prosecution against Council of Ministers Chairman Miklos Nemeth on the grounds of disturbing public order and spreading false accusations. The Council of Ministers chairman had accused certain previous county party leaders with preparing for an armed coup.

The need for calling together the Committee on Immunity and Incompatibility arose because Miklos Nemeth is also a parliamentary representative, and criminal proceedings against him can only be initiated upon recommendation of the committee.

Nyers Comments on Nemeth's Coup Announcement

LD1303093690 Budapest MTI in English 0715 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest. March 13 (MTI)—"Miklos Nemeth did not coordinate his announcement of the coup attempt with Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP] leaders, but acted in his prime minister's capacity," HSP President Rezso Nyers said at a meeting in his electoral district in Papa on Monday. He said he felt Nemeth's move was not fortunate.

Smallholders Party Holds Election Rally

LD1203110190 Budapest MTI in English 2032 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—A memorial plaque of Bela Kovacs, one-time general secretary of the Smallholders' Party, between 1945 and 1947, was unveiled on Sunday at Jaszbereny (E Hungary).

At the subsequent election rally, Vince Voros, president of the Independent Smallholders' Party, informed about his party's manifesto.

The re-organised Smallholders' Party was among the first to take a stand against the Communist power in autumn, 1989, but much remains to be done yet, Mr Voros said.

The wrong-doings of the past four decades cannot be done away with overnight. Among the tasks to be solved the speaker mentioned the question of land, saying that one-time owners or their heirs should be returned their rightful property.

Free Democrats Official on Coalition Prospects

LD1203110790 Budapest MTI in English 2053 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—Laszlo Rajk, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) held a speech on Sunday, at his party's election rally at Csorvas, Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County.

Mr Rajk also spoke about his party's coalition ideas, under which the AFD could cooperate with the Smallholders, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Social Democrats, and the Hungarian Democratic forum.

Although AFD leadership has a serious difference of opinion with the Smallholders on the issue of land ownership, since according to AFD's position, only those persons should be given land who wish to make a living from agriculture, nevertheless, Mr Rajk sees a scope for cooperation.

Responding to questions, the AFD executive stressed that according to the Free Democrats not a filler should be spent on the envisaged 1995 World Expo.

Environment protection on the other hand should not be left fully to the "hands" of market economy, as this requires state subsidies and involvement, Mr Rajk said.

Postponement of Second-Round Voting Proposed

LD1303094890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] According to reports, some parties in the country are proposing that the second round of parliamentary elections should be held on 22 April. At present, there is a tacit agreement that the second round should be held on 8 April. The parties justify changing the date on the grounds that this would give them more time to prepare for and conduct negotiations with coalition partners.

Economic Association Convenes, Elects Officials

LD1203132790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Economic Association had been restructured. The activities of the Hungarian Economic Association had until now been progressive, but at the same time full of compromises and mistakes, Academician Bela Csikos-Nagy emphasized at the general assembly of the association. Secretary General Erno Kemenes called on the community of economists to take greater responsibility for the solution of the problems of economic crises, inflation, and the problems of international debts. [passage omitted]

At the meeting the constitution of the association was adopted, and the new office holders were elected. The president is Tibor Erdos. Jozsef Veres became secretary general.

Officials Given Awards; New Generals Appointed

LD1203235790 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 12 (MTI)—The interim president of the Republic of Hungary awarded the Banner Order of the Republic of Hungary to Lieutenant Generals Sandor Kiss and Janos Stock, deputy ministers of defence, for decades of successful work, on the occasion of their retirement,.

Police Brigadier General Dr Sandor Ilcsik, deputy minister of the interior, was appointed lieutenant general. Newly-appointed brigadier generals are Colonel Dr Janos Birkas, Colonel Miklos Csurgay, Police Colonel Dr Lorinc Kaposi, Border Guard Colonel Balazs Novaki, Colonel Ambrus Preininger, Colonel Janos Scharrer, Colonel Janos Szabo, Colonel Dr Miklos Szabo, and Police Colonel Dr Antal Toth.

Government Supports Lithuanian Statehood

LD1203192390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Government statement" on Lithuania, read by government press spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska, place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Government of the Polish Republic has acquainted itself with the fact that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration on the restoration of the Lithuanian state, as well as other legal documents concerning Lithuanian statehood. The Polish Government supports national self-determination, as well as the self-determination that leads to a separate state identity. The Poles desire good-neighborly relations with the Lithuanian nation, as with all other neighbors. The Polish Government believes that the interests of the nations of Central and East Europe require that all changes, while taking into account justified national aspirations, should occur in a peaceful manner, with respect for stability in this part of the continent. The Polish Government expresses the hope and conviction that Lithuania and the Soviet Union will solve common problems, respecting the aforementioned principles.

Skubiszewski Desires 'Good Relations'

LD1203213190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Statement by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Poland is Lithuania's neighbor; therefore, what happens in Lithuania is relevant to us, and that is the main reason why the Polish Government has already today taken a stance on this issue. We have historic relations with Lithuania: We have a long past. This is not insignificant. The proclamation of Lithuanian statehood is Lithuania's departure from the Soviet Union—that is, from a state with a formally federal structure—and every departure from a federation is difficult. This is a case of secession, and we know from the history of international relations, from international law, that these are often difficult processes, and that is why we believe that a great deal depends upon how relations between Vilnius and Moscow take shape in the coming weeks or even days. This is very significant, and here, Poland hopes that not only will a modus vivendi be found, but also a lasting, new relationship between Lithuania and the USSR. This is all the more important for Poland, since we desire good relations with Lithuania, and we already have good relations with the Soviet Union. This part of Europe plays a great role in our foreign policy. That is why the government was obliged to take a stance.

Geremek Comments on Declaration

LD1203214190 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—"I would like Lithuania's independence to be proof that the idea of imperialism is becoming something of the past," stated chairman of the OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Club] Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek in an interview for PAP.

"Andrey Sakharov stated before his death that the key matter is for the USSR to change from an empire to a confederation of nations. I think that this is a very right diagnosis.

"In an independent Lithuania I see both an act of justice in light of the right of every nation to independence as well as an erasing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and the subsequent decisions," Geremek said.

He expressed a conviction that a democratic Lithuania being reborn would fully respect the rights of the Polish minority in that country.

Walesa Expresses 'Joy'

LD1203215490 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 12—In a cable sent today to Vytautas Landsbergis in connection with his appointment as chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament, Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa expressed his joy at the fact that independence was restored to Lithuania and wished the further independence process to proceed along a peaceful road.

"I trust that the key principles of Lithuania's relations with its neighbours will be those of partnership and mutual respect of sovereignty.

"I wish to express a hope that the Lithuanian nation, which has nursed its separateness for years, will show understanding for similar wishes on the part of Poles residing in Lithuania," Walesa wrote.

Deputies Return From Lithuania

LD1303055190 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Secretary of the citizens' parliamentary floor group (OKP) Deputy Henryk Wujec and Senator Tadeusz Klopotowski were present at a session of the Lithuanian Parliament when a declaration on restoration of Lithuania's independence was adopted.

Upon their arrival here they told PAP: Deputy Henryk Wujec: "I was the first among the foreign visitors who was given the floor by president of the Supreme Council of Lithuania Vytautas Landsbergis. On behalf of the OKP, I declared our friendship for the Lithuanian nation and our readiness for assistance and cooperation. We have already had experiences as concerns the economic

reform, and, just like Lithuania, we are preparing ourselves for the elections to local self-governments.

"We also think of establishing closer relations with the union of Poles in Lithuania. But we do not intend to interfere in Lithuania's internal affairs, we do not want to impose anything. We have much sympathy for that nation. We recognize the right of the Lithuanians to self-determination and to the inviolability of borders."

Senator Tadeusz Klopotowski: 'Together with other delegations we witnessed a great event which was the declaration and resolutions on Lithuania's independence. There are nine Poles in the Lithuanian parliament: three of them have links with Sajudis while six are CPSU members.

"Some feared that the latter ones might vote against Lithuania's independence as there is a conviction within the latters' circle that the Sajudis' policy is anti-Polish. They obtained consent while voting when six Polish deputies abstained. Thus, the most important resolutions were passed without 'nays'," he said.

Kwasniewski on Social Democracy, German Unity

AU0703221190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Mar 90 p 6

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, Social Democracy of the Polish Republic chairman, by ND correspondent Wolfgang Rex; place and date not given: "About 100,000 Party Members and 1 Million Votes"]

[Text] [Rex] You were elected chairman of the "Social Democracy of the Polish Republic" at the age of 35. Would you have considered such an election possible two years ago?

[Kwasniewski] No, I did not even think about it. The present election is the result of a special period of time. We see that in other countries too, in the CSSR, in your country—[GDR Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor] Gysi for example—new young people have been elected into party leaderships. The young people have an opportunity to work, on a long-term basis, so that the Polish left can become stronger and important again.

[Rex] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chief of the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], has said that if 300,000 members joined your party it would be a political success. You personally talked about 100,000 as a realistic figure.

[Kwasniewski] We did not expect that the number of members would increase very fast. Nor do we want to be a party with millions of members. What we consider important is perhaps a total of 100,000 members and 1 million votes in elections. That would be better than 1 million members and 100,000 votes. But, of course, the total figure is not without importance. We would have to reach about 100,000 members so that we can build our structures throughout the country and have an opportunity to reach everybody. We also want to win leftists as members who were not members of the former PZPR.

[Rex] Where is your party on the international spectrum—among the social democrats, the socialists, or the communists?

[Kwasniewski] We view ourselves as forming part of the social democratic parties, particularly those in Western Europe. What we consider important is building parliamentary democracy in Poland; setting up a functioning multiparty system; guaranteeing all human rights; separating politics and the economy; the independence of trade unions; the independence of the church; creating a market economy with elements of state intervention.

Some areas such as culture, sports, and the health system should not be commercialized. We want to take part in European integration, however, in such a way that every country's identity is maintained.

[Rex] How does your party view the unification of the two German states?

[Kwasniewski] We have stressed that every nation and every state has the right to determine its own fate. The unification of the two German states will have considerable repercussions on Europe and the world. A large economic potential and a strong political power will emerge. That in itself would not be bad, but there are historical experiences that regrettably have shown that such a power could also jeopardize the European order. It is important that Poland gets a clear statement on the Oder-Neisse border prior to unification.

On Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Visit to France

WA0903083090

For reportage on the visit by President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Paris, including reports on their talks with President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard, and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, please see the France section of the 9 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Deputy Addresses Sejm Debate on Military Spending

AU0203133090 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Feb 90 pp 4, 5

[Unattributed report of Sejm debate on military spending]

[Excerpts] Could we have a better Army for the same money? Why does 65 percent of the Defense Ministry's spending go toward nonproductive expenses? Does the bureaucracy in the Armed Forces really consume the lion's share of the military budget? Why are young officers leaving the Army? Does the statement: "We have

no real defense force," stem from a genuine concern for the state of our Armed Forces, or is it politically motivated?

These and other questions which relate to military spending, the quality of the Armed Forces and its spirit, surfaced during the Sejm budget debate. The questions provoked sharp debates that ranged from rational argument to emotional outburst. The topic of defense spending produced generalizations as well as hard facts. [passage omitted]

The Minimum Level of Necessary Capability

Deputy Jerzy Golaczynski, Sejm National Defense Commission chairman, raised this point in his speech.

The worrying economic situation of the country has made everyone look around for every spare ounce of reserves. It has also made us look with a critical eye at defense spending in the country. To the general public, the level of such expenditure may appear excessive. What is the true situation? The current international situation—including the ongoing arms reduction dialogue—is showing signs of definite progress. Nevertheless, the possibility of a favorable outcome must not blind us to various dangers—namely, those that already exist, and those that may arise in the future.

Europe still has two opposing blocs. We have not yet succeeded in creating a general system of security, and a massive military infrastructure is still in existence. Nobody can give us a guarantee that the trend toward disarmament will continue. Novel and unforeseen complications or circumstances may arise. Many Poles are apprehensive about the process of German reunification and its implications for European security and the military and strategic balance. These implications are hard to foresee.

It is obvious, stated Deputy Golaczynski, in relation to the economic factors that are linked to defense, that the country's situation will require further rationalization of all state resources, including those that are designated for national defense. That is why the size of the Armed Forces, the military organization, weaponry, and equipment—thus, all the factors which go to shape defense expenditure—are being scrupulously analyzed.

Bearing in mind the favorable international situation, we are continuing our studies to restructure the Armed Forces in order to arrive at the size and structure that can be considered sufficient to guarantee a minimum level of defense capability. Studies in various military production enterprises are also continuing, with the aim of switching to production for the civil market.

In the last few years, stated Deputy Golaczynski, the Defense Ministry reduced the size of the Armed Forces by 15,000. By the end of 1990 a total reduction of 40,000 will have taken place. Last year the reduction was on the order of 33,000. Significant amounts of military equipment and arms will be withdrawn. It needs to be said that all the reductions to date have been made unilaterally by us. In the NATO countries, such proposals are still on the drawing board and at the stage of initial discussions.

The process of lifting the military burden from our economy is not something that only began during the last few months. This process has been taking place for several years now. This is evidenced by the drop in military expenditure in the figures showing national distributed income. Military expenditure amounted to 3.9 percent in 1988, and stands at 3.0 percent in 1990. Looking at the state budget figures, this shows a drop from 8.3 percent to 5.5 percent. In the last three years, the Defense Ministry budget has fallen by 20 percent in real terms. The figures presented in the present draft will produce a further reduction of 10 percent. In a nutshell, this is a survival defense budget.

The figures for defense expenditure given by the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, and by NATO, show that Poland occupies 29th place in a table that includes all the European countries, the United States, and Canada. Thus, Polish defense spending cannot be said to be too high.

I would also like to stress, concluded Deputy Golaczynski, that the proposed defense budget for 1990 is exactly the right amount that is necessary to maintain defense capability at a level considered to be the absolute minimum permittable. The calculations in the draft military budget will result in further Armed Forces cuts. These forces have already been cut back to the absolute limit, a limit that we ought not to go beyond. In defense matters it is a fundamental principle to maintain a security balance.

Defense expenditure is generally interpreted as expenditure on purely military things, for example, military equipment, training, and soldiers' welfare. This is only part of the story. A sizable part of the budget goes toward general spending, namely, medical expenses, education, cultural activities, and social security payments.

At the end of his speech, Deputy Golaczynski proposed a motion that the draft military budget figures produced by the Defense Ministry be accepted, and he emphasized that defense expenditure had been fixed at a level that would ensure the necessary defense capability. This should be taken to mean that these figures were arrived at with reference to the realities of the present political and military situation in Europe. Golasczynski concluded that this philosophy was illustrated at yesterday's news conference by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who stated that given the present international situation, the government did not intend to make further cutbacks on defense.

Lances against Tanks

It seemed that the Sejm assembly had received Deputy Golaczynski's speech—with its logical development of

the argument—with complete agreement. This assumption was abruptly dispelled by Deputy Jacek Szymanderski who not only opposed the cogent arguments of the National Defense Commission chairman, but in his speech demonstrated a decidedly hostile attitude toward the Armed Forces.

At the beginning of his speech, Deputy Szymanderski stressed that the Army was necessary for the country at the present time, and he agreed that it was impossible to pursue sovereign policies with an Army that was incapable of undertaking certain tasks. Looking at the proposed defense budget figures from this point of view, he continued—I note that the National Defense Commission chairman has just stated that the proposed figures reflect the necessary amount that is required to maintain a minimum defense readiness. We have to recognize, and Polish society, which bears the main burden of our defense expenditure, has to be told, that a comparison of the strength of the Polish Armed Forces with the strength of the FRG forces gives a substantially worse picture than a comparison of the strength of the Polish Army with the forces of the German Third Reich in 1939, let alone a comparison of our defensive capabilities against the Soviet Union.

I doubt whether for this money we can create a force of any defensive effectiveness whatsoever. However, it is certain that for the same amount of money we could create substantially more than we have done. This money can be better applied. Almost 65 percent of the military budget is swallowed up in nonproductive fields, for example, food, lodging, maintaining the number of personnel, and salary payments for the career cadres. In an institution as technologically orientated as the Army, the size of this figure puts a question mark over the true value of these particular people.

Are we to pit lances against tanks again?

The problem—Deputy Szymanderski explained—is illustrated by the following, and I would say, symbolic example. I had the pleasure of talking to Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki recently. The general said the following: We have no money and we know that training people takes longer than it takes to produce a gun. Why not keep the people, and later, when we have the money, we can give them the guns.

His logic is unsound for two reasons. First, when we talk of the Army, we must think about war. When we think of war, we must realize that all the unarmed people who are subsequently sent to the front are simply being sent to their deaths. This also includes the semi-trained pilots who have only flown a quarter of their designated training hours.

The second error stems from the misconception that we will succeed in maintaining this Army superstructure right up to the time when we have more money. The money will not come quickly. If we assume that it takes a year to train our hypothetical artillery man, it is absolutely certain that we will not get any extra money that will enable us to buy the necessary guns within that year. [passage omitted]

Militia Administration, Equipment Examined

AU1303105090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Mar 90 p 3

[Irena Szaczkus report: "What Does a Militiaman Have Apart From a Truncheon?"]

[Text] There is no end to the things that can be said about the Citizens Militia [MO] and Security Service [SB] at social gatherings. Everyone has his own views about the men in uniform (and out of uniform). These opinions are frequently colored by myths and rumors.

It is generally held that the militia is a privileged social caste that enjoys special powers. It is affluent, large, and strong. This kind of view can be heard in public from people who want to be considered serious and credible.

What are the assets of the MO and SB. I have been trying to find that out for the past few days. As it happens, finding out is not all that easy. Therefore, reader, forgive me for the fact that my information is incomplete.

Let us start from the top. The MO Main Command—is that a gigantic building, or just an ordinary office? Just like every other office, it has a Secretariat, apart from which there is a commander in chief and two deputy commanders. It consists of the following offices: The Operations Office, with a staff of 46; the Preventions Office, with 37 full- and part-time posts; the Road Traffic Office, with 28 posts; the Crime-Operations Office, with 61 posts; the Economic Offenses Office, with 64 full-time and one part-time post; the Investigations Office, with a staff of 54; the Control and Analysis Office, with a staff of 46; and the Institute of Criminology, with a staff of 160.

The SB in the Ministry of Internal Affairs has 389 posts, comprising 151 in the Department for the Protection of the State Order, 141 in the Department for the Protection of the Economy, and 97 in the Department of Studies and Analysis.

In the field, the SB has 3,153 posts, including 950 in the Department of the Protection of Law and Order, and 1,464 in the Department for the Protection of the Economy. These figures include secretaries, drivers, etc.

Vehicles are a favorite subject. On 13 December 1989, the Interior Ministry had almost 20,000 official vehicles. It has over 5,000 specialized vehicles, in other words vehicles used for convoys and road traffic duties, and ambulances. The number of prison vans is slightly over 400. Heavy trucks, minibuses, cranes, and mobile workshops—in other words the technical base on wheels—total 4,800.

What does an officer, who has been appointed to guard the law and public order, carry with him?

Apart from a truncheon, he carries a revolver, tear-gas gun, and sometimes handcuffs. Lately, he has also been receiving disposable protective clothing and decontamination equipment. This is supposed to protect him against AIDS, but the protection is not great. Shields, tear-gas canister launchers, and bulletproof vests are not part of a functionary's regular equipment.

Where do Interior Ministry employees spend their vacation? The Interior Ministry has 50 vacation centers in Poland. Facilities that are open all year have a total of 2,300 places, and those only open in summer have twice that number of places. In addition, workers' hostels provide a roof for 3,600 functionaries who do not have their own apartments.

Medical care? The ministry's health service looks after employees and their families in 15 hospitals. However, 40 percent of the patients in these hospitals have no connection with the Interior Ministry. There are hospitals for the treatment of lung diseases in Glucholazy, Otwock, and Kansk. In Barcinek there is a hospital for the treatment of nervous disorders, something easy to acquire in this profession.

How much pension does a former Interior Ministry employee receive? The figures are not quite up to date, but serve as a guideline. On 31 December 1989, 51,600 former functionaries were receiving an average pension of Z286,000 per month. Following the loss of their health, 17,500 functionaries were receiving an average disability pension of Z267,000 per month. On the instructions of the Interior Ministry, the Social Insurance Office is also paying survivor pensions to 17,500 families of deceased functionaries, at an average of Z258,000 per month.

Article Claims Military Resisting Reforms

AU1303094490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Mar 90 p 3

[Jerzy Lachowicz article: "The Old Bear Is Still Fast Asleep"]

[Text] The Armed Forces are in ferment. For example, the younger officers are demanding far-reaching changes in their education and training. The higher echelons are trying to resist the changes.

Every time I have tried to phone the Education Department at the National Defense Ministry—last October the name of the department was changed from its former name, Main Political Department—the receptionists say: What Education Department?

The officer cadets from the Higher Military School of Signals in Zegrz have this to say about their education course: The lecturers are the same. The program is the same. We are still having to take the subject of "Party-Political Tasks." The course "Marxist Philosophy" has been changed into "Philosophy," but the change is purely superficial.

Last February, a group of "Solidarity" deputies put forward a motion calling for the dissolution of the Main Education Department and the Education Officers Corps (until recently, the Political Officers Corps). They also called for the abolition of all youth organizations in the Armed Forces. They wanted all education at the primary level for national service recruits to be conducted by full-time civilian teachers, and the education of commanders in the spheres of psychology, sociology, and the law should be left to civilian specialists.

The Sejm Commission on National Defense rejected the motion by nine votes to seven at the end of February. The Army does not like shocks and needs very careful changes, they explained.

The initiatives of the "Solidarity" deputies are being thwarted by the National Defense Ministry, which makes use of a group of deputies from the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], who are connected to the Army and the armaments industry.

The National Defense Ministry wants to present the struggle for implementing reforms in the Army as a simple generational gap struggle. In this it is not totally wrong, because one of the key weapons in its fight to resist reform is its personnel policy.

An unwritten convention restricts promotion to the rank of general (there are currently 142 generals) to those people who have studied in Soviet military academies. This is the reason—according to the information given by Colonel Marian Stuglik, deputy chief of staff policy at the Ministry of National Defense—why 500 full-time posts of general are currently being filled by people of the rank of colonel, whose own promotions are being held up.

In the Armed Forces, there are currently some 5,000 colonels, 11,000 brigadiers, and 6,000 lieutenants. According to the ministry's regulations, a major can be retired at 45 years old, a brigadier at 50, and a colonel at 55, but this was rarely done. The regulations also provide that those who are to be retired should be officers aged over 60 years old. They can, however, appeal to the minister for their commission to be extended. In exceptional circumstances, the minister can extend the commission. Up till now, the minister has rarely refused.

On 6 February, Colonel Stuglik promised that "the retirement of 300 officers who have reached 60 years will be accelerated."

Defense Minister General Florian Siwicki is now 65 years old. In line with the prevailing regulations, he has put himself at the disposition of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. It is not known yet whether Gen. Siwicki will remain in active service.

In December 1989, the Council of Ministers decided to form political committees at the National Defense Ministry and at the Internal Affairs Ministry that would

assist the government in implementing reforms. In the middle of January, a Political Advisory Committee was indeed formed, but only at the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Former Militia Reservists Association Forms

AU0203150390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Jerzy Jachowicz: "Tremble in Peace, the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia Is on Guard"]

[Text] The Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia [ORMO] continues to exist under a new name, that of the Association for Supporting Public Order. More than 5,500 of the 200,000 former members of the ORMO have joined the association. They already have centers in 37 voivodships and a license to deal in weapons and ammunition. They will shortly receive firearms.

On 23 November 1989, 283 Sejm deputies voted to pass a resolution disbanding the ORMO (with seven deputies voting against it and 35 abstaining). However, on 16 October, when the question of disbanding the organization had in effect already been settled, activists from the organization held a meeting at which 62 ORMO members set up a founding committee for an Association for Supporting Public Order.

On 26 October, after a payment of 500 zlotys had been received, a voivodship court issued the organization with permission to pursue its activities.

The association's governing bodies were elected at its founding congress, which was held on 5 December. Colonel Marian Figura, a former Citizens' Militia functionary who was ORMO commander for the Warsaw district and voivodship, was elected chairman of the association.

The statute submitted in court states that the association is a social organization which actively pursues, in an organized fashion, the protection of public order and citizens' property. The statute grants the right to use a flag and seal, and members can wear badges and the organization's uniforms.

In October 1989, Vice Minister Zbigniew Pudysz signed a document agreeing upon the scope of the association's activities together with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was this ministry that granted the association permission to engage in economic activity (including a license to trade in explosives, guns for sports and hunting, air guns, and ammunition).

The association has inherited former ORMO premises. For example, the association's main board uses the premises of the former Warsaw Road Traffic Battalion. Six of the Warsaw district units used former ORMO headquarters.

On 20 February, one of the 26 founding members of the association said: "These are hard times for us. We have to organize ourselves in secret. We have received a preliminary decision from the Citizens' Militia that will allow us to receive firearms shortly. The procedure will be as follows: An association member will submit an application in writing to the voivodship office of internal affairs having had the application signed by the chairman of the circle or detachment and the matter will be settled."

He went on to say: "Barely 10 percent of the 2,000 or so members in Warsaw possess firearms. Of course, there will not be a complete return to the old days. Until 1989 we had more than 2,000 comrades in a good district. We had 14,000 members in Warsaw. There were about 200,000 of us in Poland. However, already more than 5,500 former members from 37 voivodships attended the December congress.

"We have set a low initial membership fee of 300 zlotys and a low annual membership charge of 1,200 zlotys, because most of us are pensioners. This will not provide a lot of money, so that is why we have already started to engage in economic activity. We are currently protecting Central Committee buildings, and we transport money for shops. In light of the planned acquisition of firearms, we intend to intend to run a course in the use of firearms for our new members and other people. We have worked out that a course will cost 250,000 zlotys. We also intend to provide private detective services."

Association General Secretary Tadeusz Rejman told GAZETA that: "A new issue has arisen now. We would like to stand in local government elections as an association to fill the gap that exists."

Militiamen Injured in Nowa Huta Street Brawls

LD0803182390 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Krakow, March 8—Fourteen militiamen were injured when several hundred young anarchists took to the streets in Nowa Huta, Krakow, yesterday shouting demands for removing the militia units from that district, spokesman for the internal affairs voivodship office Andrezej Czop said today.

The protesters damaged 10 militia vehicles and many private cars and broke over 100 windows in the militia barracks and in a nearby hospital.

Fifteen people were detained with none of them being older than 20.

Tourists Protest Delays at Soviet Border

LD1203124890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] There was an incident involving Polish tourists blocking a border crossing in Medyka [word indistinct] on Sunday. It was caused by the irritation some coach tour participants felt on the return trip, when they had to wait for as long as 24 hours to be cleared by Soviet customs.

The tourists told me that during Saturday-Sunday night only a few coach parties were cleared and over 50 of them were waiting in line.

There were cases of people fainting and other illnesses, and a female tourist from Sandomierz was taken to Przemysl with palpitations.

I learned from the WOP [Border Guard Troops] that the delays in customs clearance are a result of very scrupulous observance of the Soviet customs regulations by customs employees.

Democratic Party Faction Outlines Platform

AU2802160290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Feb 90 p 3

["Draft platform" of the "Democracy 90" group of Democratic Party members]

[Text] "Democracy 90" is a movement that has taken on the task of creating a strong democratic party of the center that will establish the principles of democratic liberalism, which it wishes to disseminate among the broadest circles in society.

I. Democratic liberalism is a type of pluralist system in which the state exists in order to serve man. In this way, we want to realize the principle of the legal state, to which we ascribe the function of guaranteeing the freedom and security of the individual. In making freedom a priority, we wish to ensure that the individual enjoys as much security as is necessary.

We will strive to build a pluralist society that functions in accordance with the principles of freedom, tolerance, and competition. A free and open society means, above all, public control of political power, the protection of civil rights, the protection of property, and openness in the operation of government and public administration, as well as in the operation of social and political organizations.

Liberalism in a democracy will safeguard the freedom of the individual and will thus solve social problems indirectly.

Democratic liberalism provides opportunities for anyone who is ready to take on the risks involved in independent activity. It creates an opportunity for Poland.

II. With respect to economic policy, we are resolutely in favor of a social market economy, and at the same time believe that the state's basic task is to create conditions for the existence of competition in economic activity and institutional guarantees for the creation and existence of private property.

The state should focus its attention on combating monopolies, supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as on strengthening the consumer's position in the market place.

We only accept interventionism of an indirect and supportive act through state policy on exchange rates, loans, and taxation.

We do not recognize direct state intervention in the economic activities of private enterprises, and we demand full freedom of action for them. The state is to act as guarantor of the autonomous operation of the market and the legality of rules of the market.

We believe that a pluralist ownership structure, which will in itself make the principle of competition a value of the highest order, should exist within a competitive market economic model.

III. We think the role of an active social policy should be confined to ensuring that a fair income is received by those who are unemployed, disabled, sick, and by the elderly. We do not see social policy as being directed at people who are able to work, as that would restrict their independence and remove the incentive to undertake individual activity.

The social insurance system should be financed out of the public sector budget and, on a voluntary basis, by the private sector. This system should be placed under democratic control so that funds cannot be used to increase the social influence of public echelons or trade unions.

In continuing the European tradition of Christian personalism and humanist values, we believe that there is a need to build social structures that are based on the principles of the rule of law and tolerance, which promote individual effort and initiative.

IV. With regard to foreign policy, we consider active participation in the creation of conditions for the peaceful coexistence of nations to be of cardinal importance. We support the right of all nations to freely determine the nature of their statehood. We see the creation of the new political, economic, and social European order as proceeding within the framework of a united and democratic Europe.

V. The future and political effectiveness of the Polish democrats' party largely depends on the party's structure. We therefore suggest creating an organizational structure that would shift the focus of political and social activity from the center to the regional and representative organizations. This would ensure that the party operates efficiently as an independent political force within a democratic state.

We believe that in the future, the leaders of the party should be drawn from those who have obtained a mandate of public confidence in elections to parliament and self-government institutions.

Tadeusz Bien, Krzysztof Czereyski, Kazimierz Czerwinski, Tadeusz Dziuba, Krzysztof Kaszynski, Mariusz Krassowski, Jaroslaw Mikos, Bohdan Osinksi, Jacek Podgorski, Kazimierz Ujazdowski.

Warsaw, 23 February 1990.

Private Radio Station Inaugurated in Krakow

LD2802111490 Warsaw PAP in English 2215 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 27—Over 180 French politicians, businessmen, representatives of cultural and scientific circles, and journalists took part here today in the inauguaration of the first in Eastern Europe private radio station "radio Malopolska-Fun" initiated by the Krakow-based public communications foundation and Robert Hersant press concern.

Until the final formal and legal regulations are settled, the radio Malopolska Fun will retransmit programmes broadcast from Paris.

In future, the Krakow studio is to fill 65 percent of the twenty four hour broadcasting time.

It is planned to extend in near future the Radio Malopolska Fun network to other cities, Lodz, Warsaw and Gdansk among them, and to set up an advertisement and information agency which will use the latest electronic equipment in their work.

Poland's vice premier professor Jan Janowski attended the Polish- French meeting in Krakow.

Government Joins Satellite Communications Group

LD0203022990 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Paris, March 1—Poland has officially joined the European organization of satellite communications "Eutelsat". An appropriate agreement concerning Poland's membership was signed here today by undersecretary at the Polish Ministry of Communications Stanislaw Szuder.

Under the agreement Poland will be able to use "Eutelsat's" satellites to maintain international phone links with 18 countries affiliated to this organization, through a ground station which will be ready in Poland next year.

Poland became the 27 "Eutelsat" member-country but the first country to join the organization without being a member of the European Conference of Administrations of Post and Telecommunications.

Politicians' Popularity, Trustworthiness Polled

LD0103220990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOP) has held a poll on how people assess the principal public institutions and organizations and Poland's leading figures. We spoke to Dr. Jerzy Gluszynski, CBOS scientific secretary.

[Begin Gluszynski recording] As far as the main public institutions and organizations are concerned, their perception recorded in mid-January [as heard] is not all that different from the findings from the end of last year. We are dealing with two fundamentally different and mutually opposed political arrangements. The institutions that represent the mainstay of the present political order are mostly approved of, although for instance approval for the government fell by 12 percent, although its present level, 75 percent approval, could hardly be regarded as low. Among the institutions that have remained at the previous levels we could name television at 72 percent approval, and the National Trade Union Confederation, but with a significantly lower figure of 37 percent.

Things are similar as far as the principal personalities, that is, the leaders of these institutions are concerned. Their figures in general are also high, although these too are down from what they were before. The biggest drop in public approval applies to the speakers of both houses of parliament, by some 8-12 percentage points. The same also applies to Lech Walesa's figure—down eight percent—and to a lesser extent Jozef Glemp and Wojciech Jaruzelski. Despite this, approval for Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa, although somewhat down, continues to remain at a higher level than ever noted in relation to other government or party leaders.

An interesting indicator is the level of trust for the main personalities in political life. The person who enjoys the greatest amount of interest [as heard] is Premier Mazowiecki—more than 50 percent of the respondents—next comes Lech Walesa with 38 percent, and further behind comes Jozef Glemp with 17 percent, President Wojciech Jaruzelski with 15, Minister Kuron with 12, and Deputy Premier Balcerowicz with seven percent. [end recording]

Poll on Economy, Support for Government Policy

AU0203114590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Report by Piotr Pacewicz: "Worse But Calmer"]

[Text] We feel that we are worse off than in January, but there is less of the feeling of panic that there was in January, and we think that the supply situation is good. Our "economic optimism" has reached a level that has not been seen in recent years. We expect the political situation to improve, but support for the government and "Solidarity" is falling. Nevertheless, support for the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] has only risen slightly. According to a poll conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research on 16-19 February, almost all Poles could buy less for their money than before (92 percent, compared to 82 percent in January). Three-quarters of those polled felt that their standard of living had fallen in February, that is 15 percent more thought so than in January.

Money (66 percent), not goods (four percent) was what we lacked most of all in February. The corresponding

figures for January were 34 percent and 15 percent. People feel that shopping has become less trying (as many as 45 percent, that is three times as many as in January).

Eleven percent felt that they had enough money and might even be able to save something (two percent fewer thought this in January).

There was a dramatic drop in the number of those who feared that they would have to reduce purchases of foodstuffs (30 percent, compared to 51 percent in January).

As many as 77 percent note a feeling of tension in society, but that is nine percent fewer than in January.

Assessments of the government's program were slightly worse. Support was expressed by 39 percent (42 percent in January) and opposition was voiced by 13 percent (nine percent in January). However, there was some increase, from 60 percent to 64 percent, in the number of those who felt that the government's policy creates opportunities for emerging from the crisis.

Fears diminished (27 percent as opposed to 31 percent in January) and hope increased (27 percent as opposed to 19 percent) about the country's future.

There was an increase in the number of optimists who feel that the economic situation will improve (56 percent compared to 52 percent in January). There was a drop in the number of pessimists (from 20 percent to 14 percent).

"Economic optimism" has reached its highest level in recent years. However assessments of the current situation are very low: The national economic situation was deemed good by six percent (by two percent in January) and bad by 45 percent (by 59 percent in January).

Somewhat more often than in January (but still seldom), people felt that what is happening in the country is conducive to action (26 percent, compared to 22 percent in January). Almost half of those polled (46 percent as opposed to 51 percent in January) continued to note an atmosphere of apathy and resignation.

"Political optimism" also increased, by five percent, and reached a level of 54 percent, but is still well below the 1989 level of 68 percent.

The decline in support for "Solidarity" political institutions continues. The government had the support of 74 percent in February (a drop of one percent compared to January and a drop of 13 percent compared to November 1989). "Solidarity" had the support of 71 percent (a drop of three percent and of 12 percent respectively). Mazowiecki had the support of 89 percent (a drop of two percent and of six percent). Walesa had the support of 79 percent (a drop of six percent and 14 percent). It was surprising that at the same time support for the OPZZ grew from 37 percent in November to 40 percent in January and to 42 percent at the present time.

English Version GAZETA WYBORCZA Debuts

LD0303051690 Warsaw PAP in English
2314 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—The first issue of the "GAZETA INTERNATIONAL" weekly, an English version of the Solidarnosc daily "GAZETA WYBORCZA" appeared with the date of March 1, 1990. The weekly chiefly includes materials carried earlier by GAZETA WYBORCZA.

The "GAZETA INTERNATIONAL" is addressed to selected milieus in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain, such as politicians, representatives of the scientific world, Polonia, journalists, university libraries.

The weekly is to present transformations taking place in Poland and in other countries of the hitherto Eastern bloc. Materials chosen from the "GAZETA WYBORCZA," are to be supplemented by dispatches prepared especially for the English edition.

Editor-in-chief of the "GAZETA INTERNATIONAL," published in 20 thousand copies, is Jane Dobija. The price of one copy abroad is to be about one dollar.

Council of Europe Official on Polish Membership

LD0303221190 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—Secretary General of the Council of Europe Catherine Lalumiere told newsmen, just before the departure of a delegation of the council from Warsaw yesterday, that the decision on Poland's membership in the council will most probably be taken at the end of 1990 or at the beginning of 1991.

Lalumiere added however that certain requirements in the democratization of the political life and the obervance of human rights have to be met before Poland can become a full member of the council. Representatives of Polish authorities with whom we talked fully accept those requirements, said she.

Ministers Adopt Draft Law on Privatization

LD0603093490 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 5—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki presided over the debates of the Council of Ministers here today. During the meeting the government adopted a draft of the law on privatization of state-owned enterprises.

The proposed draft law is to make a real breakthrough in the model of functioning of the Polish economy. The gradual privatization of state-owned enterprises coupled with the structural transformations is to being about the demonopolization, competition and the growth of workers' motivation.

Legal solutions envisaged by the draft law are flexible enough to ensure various ways of privatization of the state sector. The so-called capital privatization will consist in the sales of bonds and shares. This will mainly concern well functioning enterprises.

To guarantee the necessary protection of the state interests in the process of privatization, the meeting resolved that every year, following a motion from the Council of Minister, the Sejm will determine a general aggregate value of state-owned enterprises designated to privatization and to define the goals for which the revenues from the privatization will be used. Moreover, the Council of Ministers will name enterprises of particular significance for the state economy, whose privatization will require the government's consent.

The state treasury will be represented by the president of the agency for ownership transformations who will also supervise the transformation of a state-owned enterprise into a company. His powers will also include a decisive voice in the matters of the statute of a newly founded company.

There is also support for so-called small privatization consisting in the ale of the part of the enterprise's property such as machines, equipment, premises, shops, restaurants, means of transportation.

The bill creates the possibility of taking over or leasing by the crews of small enterprises after paying by them at least 20 per cent of the founding fund and the enterprises own fund.

The Council of Ministers adopted also the law guarantees citizens the right to free organization and participation in assemblies. The law bans the participation in such gatherings of he people possessing arms or dangerous weapons. The restrictions will also concern the possibilities of organization of assemlies by foreigners who are not permanent residents of Poland.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution which will make the basis, in line with the assumptions to the budget law for the year 1990, for the division of the means for wages in the budget sphere i.e. such fields as health service, education and upbringing, higher education culture and arts.

The Council of Ministers adopted an ordinance which makes it possible, in connection with higher costs of living, to increase the value of the financial assistance for children in foster families.

The Council of Ministers adpted an ordinance which makes it possible, in value of the financial assistance for children in foster families.

The Council of Ministers passed appropriate ordinances which will suspend the customs duty on the import of fodders, plant protection agents and materials and concentrates needed for their production. The tariffs on the import of goods for the needs of the health service, culture and publications as well as on some raw materials and semi-finished goods will also be lowered.

In connection with the planned establishment of a 25 per cent turnover tax levied on some goods brought by physical persons from abroad, the duty on imported equipment will be also lowered.

Mazowiecki Appoints Jelenia Gora Official

LD0803154990 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed, as of today, Jerzy Nalichowski as acting voivode of Jelenia Gora.

SDRP Supreme Council Adopts Foreign Policy

LD1003231390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SDRP) has adopted a stance on international affairs. The council indicates that the principles that directed the Polish left in foreign affairs before have not lost their topicality, and Poland's security ought to continue to be based on the Warsaw Pact and the alliance with the Soviet Union.

The SDRP Supreme Council assessed the law on local government as too small a step forward. In addition, it was hoped that in spite of the declaration that a group of deputies of the Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic (USDRP) intended to leave the Democratic Left Parliamentary Floor Group, the parliamentary floor group of the left would maintain its unity.

'Vatra Romaneasca' Favors Minority Dialogue

AU0703150190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1304 GMT 7 Mar 90

["Political Life: 'Vatra Romaneasca'—an Invitation to Dialogue"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/3/1990—The thousands of representatives of the Romanians' Union of Ardeal, known as "Vatra Romaneasca", who met the previous Sunday in Alba Iulia, expressed their wish for dialogue in a dignified, slightly mournful atmosphere, but not at all pathetic and by no means neo-fascist (as recent labels, stuck to it too soon, said)," the Bucharest newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" of March 7 reports.

The speakers lawyers, professors, physicians, Romanians residing abroad pointed out that although for centuries on end the Romanian Transylvanians had been denied their right as a nation, they showed understanding and had militated for ethnic, spiritual and cultural unity and had never considered (and did not do so) separatism in neither the Christian nor the Romanian spirit."

Pointing out that today, in the conditions created by the revolution, "dialogue and cooperation with the minorities" were needed most, the people present showed that the "defilement of Avram Iancu's statue in Tirgu Mures" (Avram Iancu is the Romanians' national hero of last century) only 'damages the Romanians' sincere wish for dialogue", while "the distorted and tendentious presentation of Romanian realities in the Magyar press in this country and abroad" causes "prejudice to a fine Romanian-Magyar understanding."

Hungarian Ambassador Presents Credentials

AU0803193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1908 GMT 8 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—The relations between Romania and Hungary were approached on Thursday in Budapest, during the call paid on Matyas Szuros, president interim of the Republic of Hungary, by Simion Pop, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Romania to Hungary. An exchange of greetings between President Ion Iliescu and President Matyas Szuros was made during the meeting.

The president interim of the Republic of Hungary spoke up for the development of the friendship and good neighbourliness between the Hungarian people and the Romanian people.

Deputy Chairman Kiraly Discusses Developments

AU0903143590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Mar 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Karoly Kiraly, deputy chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council's Executive Committee, by Oszkar Fuzes in Bucharest; date not given: "Full Democracy Needs Time"]

[Text] Karoly Kiraly gave an interview to our correspondent in Bucharest on the details of the Romanian situation, the achievements of the revolution so far, and the situation of the Hungarian minority. He also provided some interesting details previously unknown. The following interview sums up the major elements of an informal discussion of more than three hours.

[Fuzes] Mr. Kiraly, what is the situation in Romania two months after the revolution? What are the chances of a democratic consolidation?

[Kiraly] A lot of things have happened in these two months. This Romanian revolution has been quite special in East European history, and not only because it was the last one in the series of changes in this area, but also because of the way in which the situation in Romania exploded. Given the situation in Romania, this should have been the first country to revolt. However, it was the last one. This country had to reach the limits of tolerance, a situation in which things could no longer continue. This was not a directed and well-planned uprising, but a spontaneous revolution at a time when nobody was really prepared for it. The position of a stubborn priest, Laszlo Tokes, was the detonator of this bomb. It is a fact that Timisoara was the first to revolt, followed by the Banat area, and then the revolt spread to the rest of the country. It was fortunate that the timing was good in Bucharest because, without this, the revolution would have failed. An important feature of this revolution is that it swept away a thoroughly armed and well-organized dictatorship in one week, a dictatorship that seemed to be unbreakable. In other places, including Hungary, a long period of transition has been taking place. With tremendous speed, Romania has taken the lead. We recognized the multiparty system. The Communist Party has been totally eliminated and nobody dares to try to revive it here. The entire system of oppression has collapsed. This pace is making the events of the past two months extremely complex. One should not be afraid of the excesses carried out by some groups in the masses, often manipulated from the background. Not only for the average people, but sometimes even for us leaders it is almost unbelievable that we are now living in another world, and the past oppression, famine, and cold have suddenly disappeared. In short, tremendous progress has been achieved in these two months, and I do not see anything hinting at restoring the old ways. On the contrary, the entire restructuring is relatively calm, compared to the grievances and passions.

It is true that the National Salvation Front made a lot of mistakes and now it has to pay for all these mistakes. In my view, it was a mistake to give up its own power so quickly. It joined the coalition by disrupting the order. However, even if it is quite confusing and some of its colors are too strong, this coalition is spiritually good. There are more than 40 parties, and circus-like processes are taking place in the interim parliament. The important thing is that there is agreement concerning the major issues, and the consensus is increasingly stable. We can preserve this consensus if we do not delay the elections

too long. Hungary would also have reached a democratic reorganization sooner if you had not postponed the presidential elections. I think that every transition period should preserve the vital balance for a country. Obviously, the first parliament in Romania would not be really democratic even if we elected it only in five years time. Full democracy needs time. Therefore, it is essential to hold the first free elections as soon as possible.

It is normal that people escaping from the oppression feel that they can do anything they want. Before our desire for democracy has become reality, we are threatened by anarchy. Irresponsible people are inciting the demonstrators with dollars, cigarettes, and demagogy, while serious people are working quietly. In other words, the streets belong to the lumpen proletariat now and to those who are manipulating them, people who want confusion in order to avoid being called to account. It is impossible to eliminate the consequences of this enormous number of lies in two months.

[Fuzes] In addition to the understandable difficulties, what threatens the Romanian democracy the most?

[Kiraly] I will not say anything new, and I also said this at the latest meetings of the state leadership: nationalism and Romanian chauvinism. Ceausescu disappeared, but his heritage of nationalism and chauvinism is strong. Besides, in my view, we should reach reconciliation, rather than rapprochement. This confrontation among the people is not so serious as the extremist inciters would like it to be, extremists who maintain the deep-rooted delusion that the Hungarians would get hold of Transylvania and take it home. These people are suspicious even of the aid coming from Hungary, and fear that the Hungarians give this aid with the intention of asking for a consulate later and making use of the opportunity. This delusion can also be dissipated with hard work. A ministry in charge of national minorities will be set up, and an independent Hungarian education curriculum will develop.

Another threat: As a leader in Marosvasarhely, I said in the first moments of the revolution that the former regime's privileged people wanted to preserve their power. They will not succeed in doing so, even with nationalism. The people are well aware of who did what, and if their democratic will is implemented, these scoundrels will not stand a chance. There are also many careerists, people who were also too untalented in the times of dictatorship. Some of them took an active part in the revolution and now they feel they also deserve some functions, although they do not have the necessary brains. The former petty monarchs are the most dangerous.

I will tell you something. The former first secretary of the Marosvasarhely party committee called me up on the third day of the revolution and said that he wanted to return to the city. I told him God forbid, because we hardly succeeded in saving an innocent man from being lynched by the masses just because he resembled him. The man thanked me for the warning but he added that he hoped he would still get his first secretary salary for the days lost during the events and his escape. I was astonished when I heard this. Many people's only understanding of the collapse and the revolution was that their salaries were now in danger.

[Fuzes] Many people are blaming Romania's leaders for making it possible for the Securitate people and the compromised people to save themselves.

[Kiraly] I repeatedly, firmly asked the leadership of the Salvation Front to eliminate the Securitate and eradicate its power. The Front made a big mistake here: The Army took the Securitate over, and the Securitate people received other jobs, even if, thank God, their job is to do nothing. However, they continue to receive high salaries! They are disturbing the waters so that they can fish in these waters! And to delay and avoid being called to account. It is true, of course, that the men of the old party apparatus, the lowest ranks, are simply incapable of finding work. People do not tolerate them anywhere.

For example, the former party secretary of Szovata is the one organizing the anti-Hungarian incitement in Marosvasarhely. She was chased away from Szovata, and she came here and tried to do something here. However, these people are being uncovered, and in time, the people throw them out in spite of the delay of the country's leadership.

[Fuzes] Among the representatives of the Hungarian national minority, you are the highest-ranking leader in Romania. Along with this and irrespective of this, how does Karoly Kiraly feel?

[Kiraly] This is a queer question. I would feel better without this function. I am not yet fully recovered from my illness. My nerves have also been greatly tried. In the past 18 years, I was followed by at least six people even when I went fishing. However, I must work. Besides, the operation was successful and I feel better, and the problems I had after the medical treatment here have disappeared. I also feel better because I think that the settling of the national minority issue is progressing in the right direction. This does not mean that there will be no debates. However, I am glad to notice that the tone of the Romanian press concerning the "Hungarian question" has recently improved. The important thing today is to restore full-scale Hungarian education in Romania, from kindergarten to the university in Kolozsvar. This, and many other things require an active, intelligent, and courageously acting Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania.

There is still a lot to do in order to create such a federation. We can find people who do not like to work, people who are quick to grab positions, people who desire various functions, and people who shy away from work in this federation. All this in spite of the fact that the members are ready to act, the organizations are good. Thus, all we need is a strong and good leadership. I did not participate in the conference of the Democratic

Federation of Hungarians in Romania held last week because I wanted to avoid even the appearance that I want the leadership or a power struggle. They asked me prior to the conference whether I really refuse to accept the leadership, and my answer was that I really do not want it, not even a membership. I will gladly be an adviser if someone needs my advice.

However, following the latest conference, many people came to me and said that this conference was inadequately prepared and it failed to adopt a statute and a program. I fear that the same thing will happen at the next congress, scheduled in Nagyvarad on 7 April. Therefore, they continue to ask me to organize the meeting. If there is no other way, I will have to accept the leadership, at least until the organization becomes stable. However, it should not strive for exclusivity. We need coordination for the benefit of the 2.5 million Hungarians in Romania. In my view, the Federation should be a body that will include members of parties, associations, and collectives.

The leadership of the Federation is sometimes conducting an inefficient policy, and is acting without adequate political knowledge. Sometimes they are also acting too timidly. When the parliament was established, the representative of the Federation would also have been elected into the leadership, if he had been present. However, he was not there. Such mistakes have consequences. It is fortunate that there is close cooperation with the other 11 national minorities, because we make up 6 million people in this country of 23 million inhabitants.

[Fuzes] Many people accuse you today for defending former Premier Ion Gheorghe Maurer, while it was Maurer who made a "petty monarch" out of Ceausescu.

[Kiraly] This is true. However, Maurer called Ceausescu's bootlickers dirty swines, and he scornfully made fun of the dictator to his face, albeit not publicly. He also tried to discredit Ceausescu abroad. Characteristic of this situation is that "the leader" never knew or never dared to reply to Maurer. Maurer conspicuously refrained from hailing the general secretary both at home and abroad. He never applauded him. I asked him: Will this not lead to trouble? Maurer laughed and said that he never applauded him out of principle.

[Fuzes] You were a communist, and later a firm and lasting opponent of Ceausescu. What is your political affiliation today?

[Kiraly] I do not want to be member in any party, including the party organized from the National Front, where they asked me to go. I want to serve only one cause, the cause of Hungarians in Romania, in the framework of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania, by supporting everything that serves the prosperity of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

[Fuzes] Mr. Kiraly, thank you for the interview.

Muslim Community Requests Pilgrimage Approval

AU1203204290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Religious Life: Claims of the Turkish-Muslim Community"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1990—In the face of the threats looming over it as an outcome of the denationalization policy promoted by the communist rule, the Turkish-Muslim community in Romania calls for the recreation of schools with tuition in Turkish and Tartar and of the Islamic confessional school, as well as for the setting up of a printing house and a newspaper of its own, and for the expansion of the Mosque in Bucharest, shows the newspaper "DREPTATEA."

At present, there are 7,600 pupils of Turkish and Tartar extraction in Romania who study in 82 localities in Dobrogea an ancient historic province of Romania. There are also 322 teachers of the same extraction, who can teach in one of the two languages.

Claiming their right to train Imams (in the Islamic confessional school) for the 62 Mosques in Romania today (there used to be 82 back in 1963), the Turkish-Muslim community also request approval of the pilgrimage to Mecca, as imposed by the Koran, to serve perfect understanding with the other citizens of the country, the way it was so far.

German Democratic Forum Presents Program

AU1203204490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 12 Mar 90

["Social Patterns—The German Democratic forum"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1990—In a talk with the newspaper "ADEVARUL" Mr Nikolaus Kleininger, vice-president of the German Democratic Forum, an association of Romanian citizens of German nationality of Romania which was set up in Sibiu, said that its aim was to carry through political, social, economic and cultural activities, in line with constitutional provisions and the international law of the minorities and on the basis of its own programme and statute, with a view to preserving and developing the national and cultural identity of the German minority in Romania. The forum promotes the aspirations of the German ethnic community for a future worth living in a free and democratic Romania. According to its programme and statute, the forum represents the interests of the German population in Romania before state authorities and the other organizations, unions and parties in this country and abroad. It develops relations with countries to which the Germans in Romania are linked by a common language and common traditions, by family ties. The forum is not a political party and its members are free to join any

political party they wish. The forum works for a guaranteed status, guaranteed freedom of movement and possibilities of contact with relatives abroad for the German ethnic minority.

Democratic Union of Slovaks, Czechs Meets

LD1203234190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] The constituent congress of the Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania [Demokraticky svaz Slovaku a Cechu v Rumunsku] has taken place in the small town of Nadlac on the Romanian-Hungarian border. The delegates discussed topical problems in the life of the Czech and Slovak minorities in Romania, and stressed the need for closer contacts with Czechoslovakia.

Friendship Association With Israel Set Up

AU1103171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1623 GMT 11 Mar 90

["Romania-Israel Cultural Friendship Association Set Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1990—The Romania-Israel Cultural Friendship Association was set up in Bucharest on Sunday, 11 March, in the presence of outstanding personalities of the scientific, cultural and artistic life of Romania.

The association has a cultural, non-political, nonlucrative character and militates for a better knowledge and rapprochement between the citizens of the two countries through cultural-artistic and scientific events, exchanges of printed materials and ideas.

Academician Stefan Milcu and Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen were elected honorary presidents of the association.

The ambassador of the State of Israel in Bucharest, Mr. Zvi Mazel, delivered a brief speech.

Liberal Party's Sandulescu on Revolution

AU0203170190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Feb 90 pp 1,5

["What Does the Country Look Like in Freedom. Opinions by Political Figures: I.V. Sandulescu, president of the National Liberal Party Organization of Bucharest"]

[Text] Before answering your questions, I would like to bow in front of the graves of those who fell in the revolution and freed us from the dictatorship. We also want to express words of gratitude to all the young people who participated in this action, and to the Army that once again proved to be at the side of the people and to feel what our people feel. The two months that have elapsed since the memorable struggles are characterized by constant political ebullience, but up to now we have been unable to establish the climate of peace and trust that is so necessary for the new political, democratic forces that have emerged in our country's political arena, and to carry out their activity. If the prospect of sure and democratic elections, when each citizen can freely opt for the party or doctrine he likes, did not exist, the pressure of the street would be justified to a certain extent. However, the fact that the date of the elections has already been set no longer justifies any kind of street demonstrations. The phenomena that surpass the tolerable limit of peaceful demonstrations without any violence, and that turn into acts of hooliganism as the one on 18 February, arouse our concern. As far as the National Liberal Party Organization [NLPO] is concerned, we declare that we are not involved and have nothing to do with such demonstrations. On the contrary, we disapprove of and condemn them.

For our party, these past two months have meant tremendous activity to reorganize the party, which has become legal once again after 42 years. We must never forget that the whole National Liberal Party leadership—like the leaderships of the other historic parties—was incarcerated and none of its members came out alive. An impressive number of young people belonging to the same party had the same fate, with the only difference that many of them were saved by their youth. The then young people are the mature people of today who are trying to turn the NLPO into a competitive party in the coming elections. I would like to mention that the fear we had at the beginning that our party would be an old party has been dispelled by the impressive avalanche of young people, who simply assailed our registration centers. Our gratitude is boundless. After making our party viable, a period in which the young people will gain the necessary political experience, we will entrust this party to them. Entrusting it to energetic, vigorous, and intelligent people, who are able to continue the glorious traditions of this party, dating back 150 years, leaves us with a clear conscience and peace of mind.

In the 45 years of dictatorship, the generations that have emerged and grown up in this time without being able to become acquainted with any kind of information in connection with the principles of genuine democracy, today find themselves in the situation of not being able to correctly assess the values of democracy. Therefore, our first and most important task is to teach them and to demonstrate to them that democracy is a higher form of organizing the current human society. Even though Churchill said that democracy is a form of organization full of faults, we must not forget that it was also he who added that, despite its faults, it is still the best form of governing.

Newspaper Comments on Army Allegiance Oath

AU0403174390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Feb 90 p 1

[Ion Stoica article: "To Whom Does the Military Swear Allegiance"]

[Text] A particularly acute problem has cropped up in the Army. The military, in units, are to begin taking their oaths of allegiance. Not in one or several months' time, but tomorrow, 26 February. In the opinion of those directly involved, this event cannot take place because of some impediments. This is not because the military refuse to swear allegiance to the homeland and the people, but because of something quite different. Let us explain. In accordance with National Salvation Front Decree No. 55 of 6 February 1990, the military are to take the following oath: "I..., joining the Armed Forces, swear unshakeable allegiance to the Romanian people and my homeland. I swear that I will observe the country's laws, strictly honor the requirements of the military regulations, and execute the orders of my commanders and chiefs, both in times of peace and in times of war. I swear not to spare my blood and life to defend the ancient land and the independence and sovereignty of my homeland. Should I violate this oath I will endure the harsh punishment stipulated by the laws of my homeland, Romania."

Under normal circumstances, such a text would not lead to discussions. However, we have just carried out a revolution. At the meeting with the national defense minister, many officers said that they could not take such an oath. The text does not express adherence to the revolution by any means. It also refers to the country's laws. The question was which laws, given the fact that some have been abrogated while others, including the Constitution and military regulations, incorporate outdated provisions no longer in keeping with the essence and structure of our current society. The most disputed paragraph, however, was the one referring to executing the orders of commander and military chiefs. This, because some—many or just a few?—are still suspect. Those in the military are therefore asking themselves, how can we swear allegiance to people whom we do not trust? In one word, we have to prevent the possibility that—following some orders—the Army uses weapons against our people.

So, what is the solution? As the defense minister said, the adoption of a new constitution, and the revision of the military regulations, are operations that require time. The recruits, however, should take the oath as soon as possible. In addition, the clarification of all aspects linked to suspicion has only just started. The national defense minister has proposed the setting up of a commission to seek an oath-taking formula—even provisional—that will eliminate the elements under discussion; this formula should be submitted to jurists and later to the Provisional National Unity Council for endorsement.

This solution seems right to us. However, this means another date for the oath-taking ceremony; a date other than that set initially—26 February 1990, which is tomorrow. This must be done so that the ceremony of swearing allegiance to the homeland and people not be turned into an event that deprives the oath—to defend the ancient land—of credibility and real content. This could lead to pangs of conscience.

Daily Criticizes Title 'Country's President'

AU0403174590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Feb 90 p 1

[Tia Serbanescu article: "Clarification"]

[Text] Although the song says "a thousand times I've sworn/ not to write letters any more" something (in all probability bitterness) is galling me.

All of us know that according to the program platform of the National Salvation Front, read on Romanian Television during the revolution, all the positions of the late leader (president of the republic, secretary general, supreme commander and so forth), as well as the institutions of the defunct Communist Party have been dismantled. However, one of them—namely, that of president of the country—has been introduced again by word of mouth. It appears in Mr. Petre Roman's statement: "I have to consult the country's president" (after a meeting with officers) and it can also be found in the statement by Mr. Petre Constantin, general director of the television station, during a meeting (12 February) of contact of this institution with its new president, Mr. Razvan Theodorescu. As a witness, who was present at the discussions on that occasion (covered by review "22") said, Mr. Petre Constantin admitted that, in connection with the 28 January demonstration, "the country's president told me that it should not be filmed" (something which, translated into meteorological terms, would spell fog). Finally, the miners, who had come on a working visit to Bucharest on 19 February, also used the same title. Therefore, it would be only normal for us to also know when this position was introduced again and within what framework: by a decree-law, by consensus, by secret ballot, or merely by word of mouth?

We have nothing against it being introduced again (even before the constitution) but, as it were: "be it so, but we also want to know about it." True, an essential change can be noted. Formerly the country's president went on working visits to the miners, now it is vice versa.

Liberal Party Vice President on Foreign Policy

AU0703131390 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian 1 Mar 90 No.9 p 15

[Interview with Liberal (Freedom) Party of Romania Vice President Mihai Constantinescu by Aurel Zamfirescu; place and date not given: "We Want a More Active Foreign Policy"]

[Text] [Zamfirescu] The Liberal (Freedom) Party of Romania is a new group in our country's political arena. Would you describe its position within the national political scene?

[Constantinescu] The Liberal (Freedom) Party starts on the basis of the liberal—even radically liberal—

economic and social principles and the broadest concept on individual freedoms, and advocates the state's least interference in the country's social and economic activity. This means a relatively correct position in our country's political arena.

[Zamfirescu] What are the basic orientations of your party's domestic policy?

[Constantinescu] Its aim is to encourage private initiative by all means, and in any form, to achieve the quasi-complete elimination of the current form of state and cooperative ownership in agriculture, to stimulate the development of the small- and medium-scale farming property and the most modern forms of association. In industry and in the other branches of the economy, our party advocates minimizing the state's activity and preserving—in the form of state property—the autonomous administration of just a few basic sectors of public interest such as the energy and mining industry, rail transportation, posts and telecommunications, and so forth. We also advocate a broad opening for the most advantageous forms of foreign capital investments in our country.

In any case, all these things can be achieved only after a serious management study by appealing to specialized institutions both in Europe and in the United States. The privatization of the industry can take place only after an examination of the conclusions drawn from the management study and only after a system of guarantees has been worked out so that the state may intervene to avoid shocks inherent during the transition from a centralized plan economy to a market-oriented economy.

[Zamfirescu] What are the party's orientations at the foreign policy level?

[Constantinescu] Our priority is to reintegrate Romania into Europe. All our efforts have to focus on the active participation in an eventual European confederation as French President Francois Mitterrand proposes, and not a "European house" toward which others are tempted to lean.

[Zamfirescu] What do you think of Romania's steps at the foreign level after the December 1989 revolution? Is your party satisfied with them?

[Constantinescu] Obviously, the declaration whereby our country renounces the absurd reservations of the Ceausescu regime toward the documents of the 1989 Vienna conference is a positive thing. However, we are not satisfied with the "timidity" with which our government voices its options; in any case we would have favored a more active policy expressing greater adherence to the European idea.

[Zamfirescu] What is your party's position on the military blocs that exist in Europe?

[Constantinescu] Actually, the alliance within the Warsaw Pact exists just in theory. We are convinced that the USSR realizes the fact that the pact's forces are limited to its own troops and military arsenals, because an efficient cooperation—in an assumed confrontation—with the armies of all states belonging to this pact, all of which are caught in the fever of reform, would no longer be possible (one can no longer count on the forces of these countries). As far as NATO is concerned, even if for some time it could constitute a stabilizing factor in Europe, in the not-too-distant future it will not be able to justify its existence either.

[Zamfirescu] In your opinion, what should be done to promote a foreign policy that will serve our country's interests? What immediate actions should be taken in this sense?

[Constantinescu] The most pressing problem is how Romania is represented abroad; our diplomatic missions must, by all means, be purged of the elements of the former regime, and they must be strengthened, which is actually not very easy to achieve because of the lack of cadres. The current personnel cannot inspire trust from the point of view of adherence to the new orientation in our foreign policy. In actions taken abroad, one has to start on the basis of the need to persuade international opinion of the sincerity of our government's intention to embark upon the road to freedom, democracy, and to completely eliminate the methods and practices of a totalitarian type.

Nonpolitical 21 December Association Founded

AU0703150090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1312 GMT 7 Mar 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves: The '21 Decembrie' Association"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 7/3/1990—The "21 Decembrie" [21 December] Association, set up in Bucharest these days, is not a political organization, does not commit itself to the fight for power, adheres to no platform of any party but, in view of attaining its targets, it shall take attitude against any action, no matter who might take it, that violates the principles of democracy and the universal declaration of human rights. Any of its members is however free to opt for any political line it wishes, without committing the association in any way.

For the establishment of a climate of confidence in the country, the association considers essential to set the truth about what happened in Bucharest on 21 December 1989. To this end, the association calls on all those who took part in the revolution and uphold that the fight begun on the barricades should continue for the elimination of the communist remainders from the country's life and the guarantee be given that no nondemocratic system will ever rule here to join the association.

At the same time, the association proposes the foundation of the "16-21 Decembrie" League.

International League Publishes SEMNALUL

AU0803103390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0927 8 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—SEMNALUL is another review put out in the Bucharest market. Edited by the International League of Romanians, it will have no editorial, as it introduces itself, but will aim at "wakening and maintaining the interest in the destiny of the homeland, cultivating lofty feelings for the Romanian ethno-geographic space and the Romanian language." "We no longer want a product of the Romanian mind be away but be invited, called and awaited here," the review writes.

The International League of Romanians publishes this review one hundred years after the foundation in Bucharest, in 1890, of the League for the Cultural Unity of All Romanians.

'Free for the Change Party' Presents Platform

AU0803193290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1742 GMT 8 Mar 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves: The Free for the Change Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—From that political party's manifesto we gather that it works for changes in all domains and especially in the spiritual life.

By its activity, the party assumes the role of "antibody" in the struggle with the "viruses" that might affect the fragile and young Romanian democracy.

The main rights for which the party will campaign by all legal means are: the right to be outspoken, the right to believe in the force of smile and to laugh to advantage at everything that is unfair and unworthy, the right to discuss questions about which others would rather keep silent, the right to doubt what seems to be unanimously accepted, the right not to be always right, the right to believe that we do not live in the best world there is, the right to be out of the straight and judge right.

The motto of the party is: free exchange of ideas, opinions and ... feelings.

Deputy Minister on 'State of Delinquency'

AU0903082790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0755 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/3/1990—Colonel-General Jean Moldoveanu, first deputy minister of the interior, chief of the General Police Inspectorate, states in an interview to daily DIMINEATA: the current state of delinquency in Romania is not encouraging at all. In some respects, it has been a reason for growing concern. The police recorded 311 offences against persons in January and 380 in February. In those two months there were 128 murders, 74 attempted murders, 28 deaths through body injuries, 71 grave body injuries, 132 rapes, 236 instances of burglary, etc. The police recorded in that period 1,492 offences against national property and over 1,400 other offences. But the actual scope of delinquency is by far larger since the offences committed are always more numerous than those discovered.

In January and February the police investigated 6,233 persons for various offences. Of them, 2,756 were youths between 18 and 30 and 552 under age. The economic police discovered hidden food in 289 stores, caught 63 shop attendants who overpriced their commodities and recorded 144 instances of profiteering, 41 instances of fraud.

The opening of the frontiers kept the police busy. In February, the frontier police confiscated smuggled goods worth 1,102,470 lei; 3,241 kg gold, jewelry and gold objects, 5,214 kg silver, 519,735 dollars, 324,736 lei resulted from illicit operations. The frontier police had to cope, among other things, with drugs smuggling and attempts of taking objects from the national heritage out of the country.

As many as 1,039 road accidents were recorded between January 1 and February 25, the toll of which was 392 dead and 822 injured, seven dead a day on the average. The causes: alcohol drinking, high speed, inattention. Sixty six percent of the accidents were caused by drivers and 34 were blamed on pedestrians.

Cooperation Agreed to With FRG Firm MAN

AU0903083090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0759 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/3/1990—Potential areas for Romania's profitable cooperation with the MAN concern were agreed upon by Ion Minzatu, PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] vice president, and Hans Peter Rohring, Kirchfeld's general director and head of MAN concern delegation, when they meet in Bucharest on 8 March. The heavy industry, mining, thermoelectric plants, the ship engine industry, steel works, inventions as well as tourism, city and inter-city transport, the food industry, nuclear power, and the training of Romanian experts through a swap of experience were listed among the priorities. Much of what Romania intends to do meets half-way our concern's interests and we will take immediate action on these lines, Mr Rohring told a ROMPRES editor. Of late the firms in the MAN concern have been given a free hand wherefore "their experts will come to Romania in the shortest possible time for meetings at all levels with the Romanian side to set the basis of cooperation."

Car Manufacturing Industry Sees Revival

AU0903104990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/3/1990—The character of joint venture of the Oltcit enterprise in Craiova became topical again at the beginning of this year as the

dialogue and the cooperation with the French firm Citroen, interrupted two years ago, have been resumed to manufacture a more competitive car and the necessary conditions of cooperation identified, states Mr Adrian Spulber, Oltcit technical manager.

The cooperation with the French firm is essential as the young Romanian car manufacturing industry does not have the tradition and experience to allow it to ensure the modernization of products and its outlet without the endorsement of a prestigious firm like Citroen.

The Oltcit car is in demand in countries like Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Turkey, Italy, Hungary, the USSR and even China, the discontent being in point of quantity and not of quality. That is why, this year the production of Oltcit cars to which the Romanian industry will make a decisive contribution, will increase by 140 percent, of which 60 percent will be sold at home and 40 percent will be exported.

Despite the difficulties and substitutions of unessential materials of the past two years, says Mr Spulber, the Oltcit car manufactured over this period entirely by the Romanian industry, has maintained within the limits of the set technical standards, and the impression of a respectable enterprise has been in no way contradicted.

Television Accord Signed With U.S.

AU0903202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/3/1990—Friday, 9 March, the Romanian Radio and Television concluded an accord with the U.S. Company "Roman Dacia TV." The document was signed for Romania by Mr Razvan Theodorescu, president of the Romanian Radio and Television, and for the U.S.A. by Mr Ion Colomietz, vice-president of the above-mentioned company. Willing to present the TV viewers in the United States, especially the Americans of Romanian extraction, the realities in free Romania, the two sides agreed on the weekly broadcasting of a programme to show the life of Romanian society, the safeguarding of the national being and the spiritual links with the homeland of the Romanians in the United States.

Social Democratic Party Youth Gives Platform

AU1003160790 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Youth and the Parties: Today, the Answer of the Social Democratic Party of Romania to ADEVARUL"]

[Text] 1. What does the young generation mean for the Social Democratic Party of Romania [SDPR]?

Everybody recognizes today that the revolution was carried out thanks to the sacrifice of the young generation which broke through the black communist veil that covered our entire society.

Although marked by resignation, their parents—overwhelmed by daily worries and crushed by the dictatorship—joined their children.

It was up to the young—with the enthusiasm of their age, but also after mature consideration—to change the course of history.

It is to these young people—whom we saw defending with maturity their interests within their respective professional organizations—that the SDPR offers the possibility of full assertion.

Therefore, we believe that the young people should be active alongside the party members, without the need to create a separate youth organization, since they have already proven mature thinking.

The specific problems concerning the young generation will be examined within study commissions for youth problems.

2. What are the current problems of concern to the young generation?

The young people have two major demands:

—to learn the meaning of true social democracy and to participate in its establishment, effective promotion, and observation;

—to ensure conditions for the natural professional and social development of each individual and the ardent wish to establish the truth.

3. How can one solve these problems?

The communist system, in its desire to put man in the peripheries, has devalued our entire teaching and educational system.

Therefore, we suggest the reorganization of the entire education, in order to give our young people a thorough general culture, train them for a dignified civic life, and instill in them a feeling of love for true moral values.

We want to promote, in various ways, scholarships and specialization courses abroad for those willing to complete their studies or learn democracy, on the basis of outstanding merits.

In view of the fact that, through its rigid and inhuman planning, the communist regime trampled under foot all the people's desires and ignored the young people's natural disposition for a certain profession, we suggest the introduction of a rational and free system of vocational, high school, and higher education.

We believe that the young generation—the decisive element of the December 1989 revolution—must be involved in politics, that is, in the country's democratic construction.

I emphasize all this because now, like in the past, there are some who claim that the young should stay out of politics and remain within the social group to which they belong.

The absence of young people from the political life and the political dialogue could have serious negative consequences for the fate of democracy.

I recall that Mircea Eliade [classic Romanian writer and historian], in the last years of his life, often expressed the regret that neither he, nor a part of his generation of intellectuals became involved in politics.

In those days, the prevailing consideration was that the young elite and the young people in general should withdraw into the cultural or professional spheres.

The consequence was that young people from the second or third echelon of the scale of values entered the political life. Thus—without generalizing—the quality of people, of the cadres in politics, was affected negatively and the door was opened for all kinds of opportunists.

The aforementioned phenomenon was exploited by various antidemocratic currents—ranging from extreme left to extreme right—which attacked both the value of politicians and of the democratic political system.

I recalled this episode in order to emphasize the need for the political activism from the young generation.

Sergiu Cunescu, SDPR president,

Camelia Ionescu (26 years of age)

Black Sea Offshore Crude Production Noted

AU1003195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1811 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—Aboard the offshore oil drilling and extraction platform "Jupiter" in the Black Sea, the director of the "Petromar" enterprise in Constanta, Engineer Constantin Naclad told a ROMPRES reporter:

"At present we extract more than 2,000 fine-quality crude from the Black Sea bed a day, which places us on the leading standing as far as oil production in Romania is concerned. This production is to go up as soon as another two drilling rigs go on line (so far they have already drilled down to 2,000 m). Furthermore, our research work conducted in cooperation with the other platforms such as the "Orizont", the "Atlas", the "Saturn" or the "Prometeu" show a new and substantial hydrocarbon deposit—the "Lebada Vest"—which seems to be richer than the one we work on at present. Another two platforms the "Pluton" and the "Uranus" will soon add to the existing seven Romanian offshore drilling platforms".

At present, more than ten per cent of Romania's total annual hyrocarbon production are extracted from the Black Sea.

Christian Democratic Union on Banat Territory

AU1003195290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1756 GMT 10 Mar 90

["Political Life: Denial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—Mr. Ioan Orbulov, vice-president of the Christian Democratic Union of Romania, member of the County Provisional National Unity Council in Timisoara, told a ROMPRES writer: The rumours that the legally created local bodies in Timisoara intend to separate Banat from the rest of the country are groundless. We have no intention to promote separatism in the territory. As a matter of fact, a meeting of the County Provisional Council decided that the ideas of liberalization should be promoted throughout the county to greater extent. Along this line, we sent our proposals to both the Government and the Provisional National Unity Council. As may be easily seen, there are no "separatist" tendencies. Rather, the local bodies think of providing for a smooth run of economic activities in this area.

Weekly Publishes Issue on Political Life

AU1003200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—The first issue (dated March 1990) of "VIATA POLITICA SI PARLAMENTARA IN ROMANIA" (ROMANIA'S POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY LIFE), printed by the News Agency ROMPRES, was brought out.

The aim of this weekly is to inform its readers of the activity carried through by the Provisional National Unity Counil, the political parties and the unions of the national minorities. The first few issues until the elections due on May 20 will also outline the platform-programmes of all the political parties and movements engaged in the election campaign.

The first issue opens with the section "Parliament", which gives the composition of the PNUC Executive Bureau.

The selction "the life of the parties" includes the list of the 51 political parties registered in Romania until February 28, 1990, and introduces some of them the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, the Ecological Movement, the Socialist Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, the Democratic Party and the Democratic Unity Party (leaders, platform, programme, mouthpiece).

The "Ethnic Minorities" section introduces the Democratic Forum of the Germans in Romania, headquartered in Sibiu, and the Democratic Union of the Serbians in Romania, based in Timisoara.

The News Agency ROMPRES will soon print this booklet in English, French, Russian and Spanish.

France Offers Training for 75 Journalists

AU1003212890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 10 Mar 90

["Meridians of Solidarity—Seventy-Five Stipends for Romanian Journalists in France"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/3/1990—Upon an initiative by Parisian and Regional Press Trade Unions in France, 75 Romanian journalists will improve their professinal training at the headquarters of French newspapers and other mass media.

Furthermore, the Communications Department of the French Foreign Ministry conducts preliminary studies to support the creation of a National School of Journalism in Romania and a programme to update the News Agency ROMPRES and the press distribution network.

These pieces of information were supplied to reprsentatives of the Romanian Written Press and of the Free Romanian Radio and Television during a news conference held at France's Embassy in Bucharest today.

Free, Democratic Social Justice Party Set Up

AU1203215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2007 GMT 13 Mar 90

["The Political Parties Introduce Themselves: The Free and Democratic Social Justice Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/3/1990—Our idea was to create a grouping to most convincingly express the ideals of the revolution, showed in an interview with the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER" Pompiliu Mateescu, secretary-general, and Gheorghe Susanu, president of the Free and Democratic Social Justice Party, who further added: the first of these ideals is freedom. But for freedom to be based on justice it should be achieved in a democratic framework. It is for these considerations that we set our political grouping on the principles of justice, freedom and democracy.

We consider that the most efficient way to overcome the serious economic difficulties our country encounters at present, is by developing the market economy. As we have shown in our platform-programme privatization should be applied to the economic area in the first place, and then to all the other fields, with the exception of those concerning national interests and state security. Furthermore, we do not reject the concomitant existence of the other forms of ownership. However, we place emphasis on the need to provide conditions for the development of free initiative. It is essential that all important sectors be rendered profitable as soon as possible. We militate for the guarantee, under law, of the youth's participation in all state and social activities. Noteworthy among our targets are the full autonomy of universities without admittance examinations, the granting of stipends to merited pupils and students. We believe the achievement of full social harmony is a major political imperative.

Slovenes Protest Widening of Border Belt

LD0903230990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2134 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Mar 9 (TANJUG)—Several thousand people of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today demonstrated on the border crossings towards Italy, Austria and Hungary against a federal government proposal according to which the belt, under the authority of the border unit of the Yugoslav Army, would be widened from 100 meters to 1,000 meters.

The initiator of the demonstrations on the Fernetic border-crossing, which is Yugoslavia's largest towards Italy, was the League of Communists of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Renewal, whose president is Ciril Ribicic. It assessed that the latest move of the federal government was not only incongruous to the needs of the times but also in disharmony with the publically proclaimed government policy for inclusion into European integration trends.

Ribicic called on the federal government to immediately withdraw the proposal from the federal parliament procedure. The call was supported by other Slovenian parties and the republican trade union, while the socialists called for an urgent session of the republican assembly should the government proposal not be withdrawn. The Slovenian Socialists asked for the withdrawal of border guards from the borders, demanding that they be guarded in future by police units.

Representatives of the Fifth Military Region, which also includes the border regions of Slovenia, yesterday elaborated that the government proposal does not envisage the widening of the border belt but calls for border guard units to be able, up to 1,000 meters from the border, to stop, ask for identification papers and turn in persons who try to illegally cross the Yugoslav state border.

The law, as set out yesterday, would not be implemented in populated places, public roads and on Yugoslav citizens who cultivate land in the border belt or those who are hiking or picnicking.

Slovene Delegates Protest

AU1103210290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 90 p 3

[V. Ilic report: "The Constitution as a State Act"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The National Defense Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber will propose that the Federal Chamber should accept the SFRY Presidency's proposal to change the Constitution. Such a conclusion, despite the dissenting views of Slovene delegates, was adopted at yesterday's committee session. The committee will also propose that the Federal Chamber should approve the proposed amendments to the law on crossing the state border and on movement in the border strip.

SFRY Presidency representative Tomislav Radovanovic voiced the opinion of the collective head of state that the federation must continue to secure the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity by retaining the all-people's defense in its existing form, as under the present Constitution. He added that the majority of the present constitutional provisions correspond to the present state of Yugoslav society and its level of development. [passage omitted]

While the discussion on changing the Constitution has generally proceeded smoothly, the proposal to amend the law on crossing the state border and on movement in the border strip has aroused a fair amount of fierce discussion. Discussions so far have "won" republican and provincial consent, except for Article 48, which concerns expanding the strip controlled by Yugoslav People's Army border units from 100 to 1,000 meters. Viktorija Potocnik and Vilko Jelen "expanded on" and explained the reservations of the Slovene Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

At a time when Europe is opening up, we are building a Great Wall of China, as if we were surrounded only by enemies, Potocnik said. I am interested to learn whether the proposers have borne in mind the experience of other countries and what the objective reason for this proposal is. It has upset the population in Slovenia, and we have already received many letters of protest calling for the proposal's withdrawal. People near the border fear that they will be subjected to continuous psychological stress and the control of the border guards, and that firearms will be used.

Saying that he has lived near the border for 25 years, Vilko Jelen said that the creation of a "living border" by settling border areas with young people equipped with up-to-date communications, wireless telephones, and radio equipment for all those who live near border markers would be much more effective. He also asked that the article about the stamping of passports on entry to the country be removed from the proposal. [passage omitted]

Stane Brovet said that the use of radar, sound probes, and similar reconnaissance devices would detect possible violations and would constitute measures against them, adding that Europe and the rest of the world insist that "Yugoslavia should detect and prevent illegal crossings, smuggling, and the passage of terrorists through our country, an obligation laid on us by, among other things, international conventions."

I assure you that the Army will do everything to ensure that such incidents do not occur, because it is in our interest to avoid them, Brovet said. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Illegally—For 1,000 DM

In one year, an average of 10,000 "illegals" are detected crossing our border in both directions. In 1989 alone, 3,000 of our citizens and the same number of foreign citizens were detected "en route" to Austria and Italy without passports. There has also been a sudden rise in organized illegal crossings for which, according to reports from the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, "group leaders" are paid 1,000 deutsche marks each. Last year alone, 71 illegally organized channels were detected and blocked. Of the total number of detected border crossing attempts, the Yugoslav People's Army border guards "book" 10-15 percent of entries and 40 percent of exits. The remainder of the "illegals" are discovered by the personnel of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Slovene Socialists Favor Demilitarizing Republic

LD0903200390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Slovene socialists are proposing that the Slovene Assembly hold a session immediately unless the adopted conclusions on the Federal Assembly committees concerning the extension of the border zone are withdrawn, it is stressed in their public statement today. They are also suggesting the recall of Slovene officials and deputies in federal organs.

The initiative also contains a demand for the demilitarization of Slovenia, the withdrawal of border soldiers from the borders, which in the future should be guarded by units of the police, and a ban on shooting at the borders except in self-defense.

Slovenia Refuses To Send Militiamen to Kosovo

AU1103195690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Request of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs Rejected"]

[Text] The federal secretary for internal affairs has asked the Slovene Secretariat for Internal Affairs to send a certain number of its militiamen to Kosovo. Miha Ribaric, member of the republican government, yesterday stressed that the Republican Executive Council has categorically rejected the order of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Slovene Opposition Wants Slovene Army

AU1103195090 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Mar 90 p 2

[Marko Pecauer report: "Demos Prepares Suggestion for Setting Up a Slovene Army"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar—At their news conference today, the representatives of Demos-United Opposition have presented their position on the settlement of the military question in Slovenia. Among other things, they envision the formation of Slovenia's own armed forces.

"Statements alone are not enough," they say in a document that they presented at the news conference today. "Our soldiers are forced to participate in the implementation of emergency measures or state terrorism in Kosovo, and the next batch of Slovene draftees is supposed to go there in the coming days. At the same time, we have witnessed the deaths of young soldiers and have seen no clear official statements.

"To protect young lives and because we do not wish citizens of Slovenia in uniform to be forced to carry out coercive measures in Kosovo or anywhere else, we propose that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia at its session on 7 March 1990, on the basis of Amendments 10, 46, and 62 to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, should adopt the following conclusions:

"1. The provisions of the Law on All-People's Defense (SFRY Official Gazette 21/82 and 31/89) and of the Law on Military Duty (SFRY Official Gazette 64/85, 26/89, and 29/89), and the legal regulations issued on the basis of these laws, according to which citizens of Slovenia serve the Army outside the territory of Slovenia, will not apply in the (Socialist) Republic of Slovenia.

"2. As of the day this conclusion is adopted, the respective state or administrative organs for all-people's defense in Slovenia must not hand any summons to serve the Army outside Slovenia to any draftee who is a citizen of Slovenia. If the Yugoslav People's Army fails to provide a suitable distribution or posting for all the Slovene draftees in the Yugoslav People's Army units in Slovenia, the Republican Staff for Territorial Defense will take care of their military training. The funds for this purpose will be diverted from the funds that Slovenia contributes for the military portion of the federal budget.

"3. The Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should demand and obtain from the federal secretary for national defense responsible for the posting of soldiers a reallocation of soldiers who are citizens of Slovenia, from units located outside the territory of Slovenia to the Yugoslav People's Army units in Slovenia.

"4. These conclusions come into force at once."

The document further notes that the military question cannot be solved only partially or with calls to civil disobedience, because this exposes to sanctions only the individuals directly concerned. Therefore, it is requested that the state organs of Slovenia should resolve this problem in general.

Demos notes that Slovenia is capable of organizing and maintaining its armed forces at lesser cost than its present allocation to the federal budget for this purpose. It supports its assertion with figures on the number of Slovenes in the Armed Forces and the money that

Slovenia allocates for the Yugoslav People's Army, territorial defense, civil defense, and some other paramilitary matters. These expenses are said to amount to $750 million or 7.5 percent of the Slovene national income.

Slovene Peasant Alliance Nominates Candidates

AU1103145890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Danilo Utenkar report: "Peasants' Election Rally"]

[Text] Smartno pri Litiji, 5 March—At an election rally of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, the members of its managing committee unanimously confirmed 79 candidates for the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly. Marjan Podobnik, Peasant Youth Alliance of Slovenia president and Peasant Alliance vice president, was chosen to head the list. The peasants also devoted their gathering today to a discussion of women in the Peasant Alliance and to the problems of forestry.

The candidates for delegates to the republican sociopolitical chamber spoke at length about the matters they will advocate in the assembly if they are elected. A general dissatisfaction with the present situation in our society was a kind of a theme song of the election meeting. Franc Zagozen stressed, among other things, that the Slovene Peasant Alliance comes to the voters without any rich dowry, but it is important that it bears no blame for the crash of the economy, for the exhausted natural resources, for the poor infrastructure, and for the polluted environment. Listing the aims that the peasant deputies will strive for, he said: "We are announcing an end to the class enmity and the beginning of tolerance, social partnership, and political and economic democracy. We are announcing loyalty to the people, the land, and the culture of our forefathers, and we are announcing a right to one's future. We are determined to leave to our children and grandchildren a healthier, spiritually and materially richer future than the present is. We predict that we will defeat the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform and its sibling, the Socialist Alliance."

Slovene Peasant Alliance President Ivan Oman said that the work of their alliance is not intended only for the peasants but also for all the Slovene people, who after so many years of struggle and conflict deserve to enter normal times.

Branko Kaucic, president of the Peasant Alliance of Gornja Radgona, was among those who expressed resolute dissatisfaction with the present social situation. He said that our socialism primarily lacked responsibility. He appealed to all the peasants to pull together toward a strong and resolute peasant party, because this is the only way to achieve better conditions for farming. He concluded his speech with the wish that God may bless this country with democracy and deliver it from communism.

At the conclusion of the election rally, the representatives of the Peasant Alliance stressed the important and great work carried out by their members in the field in the past two months, not neglecting successful links with the democratic opposition.

Slovene Businessmen Warn Federal Government

LD0703041390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2324 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, March 6 (TANJUG)—Businessmen in the most developed Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia have given the federal government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic one more month to put into effect its economic reforms. If conditions do not change in the period, they will come out with an alternative programme of their own.

Already in the month's time, the economy of the northwestern republic will be threatened with a collapse unless adequate countermeasures are taken to prevent it, members of the Executive board of the Slovenian Chamber of Economy warned on Tuesday. They cited a 5-per-cent fall in production in January, almost non-existent motivation for export and rising prices, while saying that the appropriations from income of economic enterprises were now more pronounced than ever.

Slovene businessmen blamed the bad situation in the economy on an unrealistic exchange rate of the national currency, fixed at seven dinars to one West German mark, restrictive monetary policy and the spending of foreign currency reserves for purposes other than specified. They also saw its causes as lying in inadequate interest rates and disbelief in that a new investment cycle would start in the latter half of this year, as well as in the blockade of Slovene enterprises in the largest and most populous Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The businessmen thought it to be the eleventh hour for the Slovene Government, Assembly and banks to get down to the job of saving the enterprises which can still be saved.

Kucan Leading in Polls on Slovene Elections

AU1303084390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 90 p 6

[S. Festic report: "Kucan Convincingly Ahead"]

[Text] Maribor—In the pre-election campaign for Presidency of Slovenia president, Milan Kucan, representative of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Report is a long way ahead of the two other candidates. This is despite the fact that his campaign is simply unnoticeable and his speeches do not cause "shocks" like those of the two candidates running against him. However, the weekly "sounding out" of opinion shows that he is losing votes.

The results of the survey that was conducted on 25 and 26 February by the Studio for Political and Economic

Marketing at the behest of the MARIBORSKA VECER newspaper show that the number of votes for the second candidate, Joze Pucnik, is to a certain extent increasing in contrast to the number of votes for the third candidate, Ivan Kramberger, the caterer from Negova in Slovenska Gorica, who gives speeches in squares in the open air that most often cause hilarity and who is rarely considered in Slovenia to be a serious candidate.

In the Ljubljana DELO, journalist Franc Milosic—who was astonished that a candidate for the leader of Slovenia could appear on the public scene with such cheap stunts—recently addressed Kramberger with the question of whether he could become president as such. Why not, some people say, let the development of democracy and pluralism be seen in this field, too.

It could even have been expected that Kucan would get the most votes and no one here doubted this. As regards Dr. Pucnik, the candidate of the opposition- bloc Demos, he is in an unequal position—in the opinion of Professor Vladimir Struk—because of his 20-year absence and earlier prosecutions, which were the reason for him living in the FRG.

The convincing leader Milan Kucan and his party are followed by the Liberal Party of the Socialist Youth Federation and the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. However, the Demos opposition bloc is winning more and more votes. So, in this latest survey of 309 randomly chosen telephone subscribers, Demos received 29.3 percent of the votes and the so-called socialist bloc of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal and the Socialist Alliance received 15.2 percent, and, as the third strongest block, the Liberal Party received 12 percent of the votes. The Social Democratic Alliance's share is modest and, judging by the survey, the Socialist Alliance would at this moment win just one percent of the vote in elections. A third of the respondents had not actually decided on who they would be voting for.

In the week since the last survey was conducted on 18 February, Milan Kucan has lost two percent of the votes but he continues to convincingly lead Dr. Pucnik, who has received another three percent of the vote in this period. However, even the latest "evaluation of strength" comes out in favor of Kucan, who has 64.7 percent to 19.1 percent for Pucnik, which is sufficient at the moment for him to win in the first round of voting.

Dr. Pucnik is getting more and more votes by the week. So the survey of 5 February showed that Pucnik had 15.1 percent of the votes, while on 18 February he had 18.5 percent, and on 25 and 26 February he had 19.1 percent of the votes. At the same time, Kucan had 64.1 percent, 66.5 percent, and, in the latest survey, 64.7 percent.

Among the candidates for members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Ciril Zlobec (Socialist Alliance) has a convincing lead of 73.8 percent of the votes and he is followed by the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform and Prof. Matijaz Kmeci with 52.4 percent, Ivan Oman from the Slovene Peasants Alliance with 47.2 percent, and Dr. Dimitrije Rupel (Social Democratic Alliance) with 41.7 percent, while Alojz Krizman, Maribor university rector and representative of the Socialist Youth Federation—Liberal Party, received a total of 25.8 percent of the votes.

Opposition Within Slovene Party Established

AU0903152790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 Mar 90 p 1

[S.P. report: "Forum Will Constitute Opposition Within League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 March—The LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform obtained its own opposition yesterday. Some 50 young Communists and other sympathizers of the Europe Now Program set up a Democratic Forum that will work under the auspices of the party, but will be an autonomous organization and movement, determining its policy independently.

The Forum will cooperate in shaping the policy of the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform, but will retain its right to have separate views and to ignore conclusions that opposes its policy. They particularly stressed that the members of the forum do not intend to become any modern variant of SKOJ [prewar League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia] but "a group of organized, legal pressure on the LCS-Party of Democratic Reform, as well as on other parties, their big brothers on the right and the left, so that after the elections, they may implement at least some of the present magnanimous promises."

Their basic program guidelines say that above all, they will strive for a safe transition to a stable democracy.

Slovene Party Reorganizing, Losing Members

AU1103150690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 Mar 90 p 2

[Boris Jez report: "League of Communists of Slovenia—Party of Democratic Reform: The State Holds the Economy by the Throat!"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 March— "The state is holding the economy by the throat," Janez Kocjancic said at the convention of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]—Party of Democratic Reform today, and thus encapsulated what the party thinks about Markovic's program. In general, the discussion turned primarily on economic affairs, which was to be expected considering the present situation in Slovenia.

Thus Kocjancic and Emil Milan Pintar said that Slovenia resolutely supported Markovic, but its support is not without limits. Above all, state interventionism has increased lately, and it is manifested above all in the

latest restrictions on bank credit. It has been said repeatedly that the move may kill even many good enterprises. Export production was also mentioned, and it was said that it may dry up because, according to Matija Skof, the dinar is overvalued by at least 40 percent.

Stojan Kokosar dramatized matters to the extent that he predicted that the Slovene economy could be flat on the floor in as little as two months, which allegedly was the consequence of a planned action by the conservative forces in Yugoslavia. As a party in power, we hold all the levers for the preservation of Slovene economic sovereignty; we must do our best to avoid a collapse, he said. Milan Pintar pointed out in this connection that Serbia obviously decided for a pronouncedly nationalist economic policy. It is transferring all the losses of its economy to its national bank, and so we may soon see a request that Yugoslavia should tackle this problem. It was thought, among other things, that no new transfers can be considered.

The Central Committee met in the morning before the convention, and Sonja Lokar acquainted the committee with the course of the party reorganization so far. She said that the reorganization of the state administration had run predominantly in an organized way, but the basic organizations in the judiciary had willfully dissolved themselves and the withdrawal of members is therefore considerable. The compacts were also not adhered to in public security, and therefore many militia men have left the LCS—Party of Democratic Reform, especially in Ljubljana and Koper. Officially, the party still has some 96,000 members, but considering the membership fees that are collected (about 70 percent), it seems that the number has dwindled already. It is to be expected that membership will further decrease, especially after the elections. Lokar said in this connection that the reorganization runs on four levels, that it involves many innovations, and that all possible initiative is left to the "field."

When candidates elected at the convention were presented to the public in the afternoon, they answered questions by journalists. Asked to comment on the Demos suggestion about a Slovene army, Milan Kucan replied that as long as we talk about a joint state, we must think about the Army as a joint institution. The peacetime involvement of the Army, such as at present in Kosovo, is quite another question, and Kucan of course could not agree with it.

Slovene Opposition Leader Discusses Elections

AU1103160290 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Mar 90 p 20

[Interview with Dimitrij Rupel, "gray eminence of the Slovene Democratic Alliance," by Janko Lorenci; place and date not given: "Afternoon Politicians Will Win"]

[Excerpts] [Lorenci] Can the parties say anything new to each other and to the voters before the elections?

[Rupel] I would make two parenthetical statements. First, we do not know how much more complicated matters concerning Yugoslavia will become. Probably they will. Second, every party, even every candidate, keeps a trump card to play at the very end.

[Lorenci] Do you, personally, and the Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDA], also keep one?

[Rupel] The SDA will have a gala show in the Cankar Hall at the end of March, and in addition to further presentations of candidates, we intend to say a few things that we have not yet said and that we hope will help us to surge forward. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] By the way, how will you finance this?

[Rupel] Of course we have financial difficulties, but we will somehow manage. Of course, we are amateurs in the political trade. As you know, we obtain enough money to pay two professionals every month; now you compare this with 400 in the Socialist Alliance or the six official cars in the ZSMS [initials of the former Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] Do you consider it an insult if somebody calls you an afternoon politician?

[Rupel] Ours is amateurism in the good sense of the word. The majority of us work in serious, strenuous jobs, and we are not in political jobs. I think that people appreciate this. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] What do you think of political culture in the present election campaign?

[Rupel] It is not all that bad. Well, it is somewhat unpleasant to hear that the police and the Army pull down our posters in some places. Or the present political carnival costumes, the playing with names; the Communists call themselves reformers, the Socialist Alliance calls itself a center-left party, the youths call themselves liberals, and such monkeying around. Or the great inequality in the media. But I have not noticed any personal "dirty tricks," although MLADINA has become somewhat nervous about Demos, Pucnik, Pirnat.... Well, this is something to be expected in a newspaper of that kind.

[Lorenci] You are considered to be the gray eminence in the SDA. Why have you withdrawn to the background?

[Rupel] In the fall, I went for a quarter of the year to the United States, and I thought it wrong to retain the presidency during that time. In addition, at our founding meeting I stated that I will be president only until our first regular congress. I took that as a question of principle, too. No president in any office in this country has ever withdrawn of his own volition....

[Lorenci] Kucan has.

[Rupel] All right, we will admit that Kucan is an exception. But of course he reckons that he will be president of the Presidency. Well, I resigned as promised.

[Lorenci] When you went to the United States, the times were still very uncertain and crucial. Don't you think that you should have actually stayed here?

[Rupel] The visit was planned before I became president. It was a matter of cooperation between the universities of Ljubljana and Cleveland, where a course of Slovene studies had opened for the first time since the war. I was honored by this work, although I constantly wondered whether I should postpone my departure. However, I used my stay in the United States usefully for promoting Slovene policy or rather opposition. Slovene emigrants are a cardinal problem of the Slovene state and policy. It seems that some 700,000 Slovenes live outside Slovenia, and at least 100,000 in the United States, and it would be very bad not to consider this problem. Anyhow, I worked very hard for a whole year before the first congress and I did contribute something to it being held. The American break was thus quite welcome for recreation and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] Among the arguments for your rightist position, one particularly cites your nationalism, your setting the Slovene spirit as a supreme value that should erase all the necessary differences.

[Rupel] Where can I begin? Slovene nationalism was liberal from the very beginning. The Church, the clerics attacked the nationalists precisely because of their liberalism. [passage omitted] Cankar [Ivan Cankar, Slovene writer at the turn of the century] was also sometimes extremely critical of Slovene nationalism, but on the other hand you could hardly find a man who was a greater patriot and who had helped as much in "founding" the Slovene nation. The ZSMS, which is spreading most of these slurs against us, has some sort of a leftist complex. In my opinion, the classic liberal ideas—an unhindered flow of ideas, goods, and capital—can no longer be advocated. This is Markovic's policy at present, and it sucks hundreds of millions of dollars from Slovenia. I am not a fervent nationalist; I am in favor of Slovenia becoming one of the countries of united Europe. But the Slovene national system must be protected in this situation, otherwise it will perhaps not survive. It must be protected more strongly than Sinigoj's government or the Slovene Party protection.

[Lorenci] An exaggerated stress on the Slovene spirit can easily turn into nationalism; the borderline is very thin.

[Rupel] My position is this: Yugoslavia is an imperialist creation, like Austria-Hungary used to be. Such multinational and very variagated creations can be held together only by a dictatorship, in our case by the Communist Party. When its control relaxes, matters must begin to be resolved by themselves. Should we now change one nihilist ideology for another? No, one should take something that in itself is a natural phenomenon—the Slovene spirit. We do not want to be assimilated either by the Croats or the Serbs, and also not the Austrians; here we must be hellishly cautious, because we seem somehow to have forgotten how we suffered because of Germanization. We have tried all variations of cohabitation with others and we have never had a good time. In our time, democracy has matured to such an extent that everybody may become organized in the way it suits them and, in my opinion, the Slovenes may order their life in their own image.

[Lorenci] Perhaps we needed Yugoslavia and the history of the past 70 years as a kind of a learning period, and the international situation has now become such....

[Rupel, interrupting] The historical moment is exactly right for us to constitute ourselves as a national state either within a confederation or completely autonomous. The circumstances have led to some latent phenomena in Europe being able to take on a manifest form. One of these phenomena is the Slovene nation hiding in these outsize Yugoslav clothes. Now we can tailor our own clothes. As regards your thesis that we have chosen Yugoslavia as a sort of a training workshop....

[Lorenci, interrupting] Or perhaps as a necessary shelter.

[Rupel] I would rather agree with that. It was logical at that time that we leaned on other Yugoslav peoples. Krleza [Miroslav Krleza, 20th-century Croatian writer] said well that we came together like a flock of geese. Now the situation in Yugoslavia is unbearable, and reckonings are being prepared in which we need not take part. We need not excessively worry about the others. Serbia has anyhow decided to go its own way. The Croats will probably do the same through their opposition that has no illusions about Yugoslavia. Unless we speed up our drafting of the scenario for an independent statehood, we will not be up to our historical task.

[Lorenci] Has Demos not taken a retrograde step in its attitude to Yugoslavia? It used to display its will for independence, and now it is for a confederation.

[Rupel] Demos took as its starting point the May Declaration, and this declaration says that we want a sovereign state of the Slovene people, that we will decide ourselves with whom we will negotiate, and so forth. A confederation or some other form of Slovene statehood is thus a technical or operative question. But it is sure that those who until now have been in charge of national matters have not carried out their task well. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] We will see how you will order the relations with Yugoslavia, if Demos wins. I am really interested.

[Rupel] So am I. There have been some hints lately that we should cooperate with the authorities. But when it really was the time for cooperation, half a year ago, they were all haughty. If a real crisis situation were to arise and if they say to us: Listen, will you support us if, for instance, we want to secede, we will probably say "Yes."

[Lorenci] Would you (Demos and the SDA) be prepared to cooperate in a coalition with the Party after the elections?

[Rupel] (A very long pause for thinking) I would rather wait with my answer until the election results. I fear that the time for a so-called grand coalition or a national salvation government is somehow past. [passage omitted]

Former Slovene LC Legal Position Viewed

LD1002030490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 February (TANJUG)—According to the existing statute a direct LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] membership is not possible. For instance, if anyone in Slovenia wanted to become organized in this way the statute would have to be changed. However, in principle the possible formation of a "new communist party" is not preventable. This was said during the routine news conference today in the head office of the ZKS-SDP [Zveza Komunistov Slovenije-Stranka Demokratskega Preporoda—the League of Communists of Slovenia-the Democratic Renewal Party] or the reformist party ("former" communists) who, like the Slovene socialists, proclaim themselves to be a left-of-center party.

In any event, the ZKS, the democratic reform party, has registered within the deadline provided for by law as one of the parties that will take part in the forthcoming elections, with the symbols promoted during the December 11th congress of the (then) League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia that are a blue banner with a yellow star and a green field in the corner with the slogan "Europe today."

Lenart Setinc, a member of the party Presidium, told the journalists that the reformists will introduce a new method of membership affiliation. All one must do to become a ZKS-SDP member is to sign a membership affiliation statement. It can be done anywhere, either in the Central Committee or in some other form of organization or during functions organized by the party.

The introduction of a new concept of organization is to begin with the reorganization of the basic organizations, stressed Peter Bekes, who is also a member of the top party leadership. The idea is that the party should become a democratic alliance of autonomous groups and that with the abandonment of the principle of democratic centralism a link should be established among politically active people, with the view to fulfilling their interests. Regarding the organization of this political organization among internal affairs organs it was said that, at least in Ljubljana, this reorganization had already begun. In the organs like the judiciary, organization should be a private matter for each individual. The formation of "Clubs of ZKS-SDP members" to replace the existing basic organizations is envisioned for media representatives.

Regarding the membership fees the party of Slovene reformists intends to draw closer to other political organizations, that is to say it plans to reduce the membership fee to one percent [of members' wages]. The reformists also opened a special bank account into which the members and the sympathizers can pay money for this party's electoral campaign.

It was also stated during the news conference that the ZKS-SDP had not attended the meeting of the leaders of LC republican and provincial organizations yesterday. However, it had proposed a meeting of presidents of republican LC organizations alone, without the presidents of the provincial LC organizations. Such a meeting, the Slovenes suggest, should be convened by one of the presidents of the republic LCs, for instance the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The answer given to the question asked by journalists on relations between the LCY members in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the Slovene reformists was that there were no indications there had been any change in these relations, which continued to be good. It was also stressed that the ZKS-SDP's moves during the past two months had had positive reverberations among the membership and had evoked an interest for new members to join this party. Soon a paper EVROPA SADA will be brought out by a special enterprise on commercial principles.

SFRY Assembly Human Rights Group Formed

LD1602132690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—A working group for the issues of the advancement and protection of human rights, chaired by delegate Mijat Sukovic, was set up today in the SFRY Assembly.

It was announced that the working group will, according to the recent conclusion of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, consider all aspects of advancing and protecting the constitutional freedoms and rights of SFRY citizens. This is even more important in light of the already-initiated reform of the political system that will provide the normative preconditions for ensuring consistent observance of human rights within the SFRY legal system.

The working group will also monitor the realization of the legal and other provisions regarding this matter and in doing so it will cooperate with the competent organs and organizations as well as with the nongovernmental bodies in the SFRY for the protection of human rights.

Charges Against Former Official Arifi Dropped

AU1402163590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The five-man bench of the Gnjilane District Court, presided over by Judge Imer Huruglica, has dropped charges against Ekrem Arifi, former member of

the Communal Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, who was accused of committing the criminal act of fomenting national and religious hatred, discord, and intolerance. In a rather meager explanation of the indictment, it was said that charges against Arifi are being dropped for lack of evidence, because, according to the bench, the 10-day main hearing failed to confirm the indictment.

Federal Chamber on Internal Affairs

LD1502134890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14th Feb (TANJUG)—The organization of work in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SSUP] is such that no official, including heads of departments, is exclusively responsible for cooperation with security organs and services of other countries. Cooperation takes place under subject heading, for instance: border business; the question of aliens; various forms of international crime; and the like.

The SSIP [Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs] had contacts with Romanian security organs in this way and in these areas, says the FEC [Federal Executive Council] reply, submitted for the federal chamber session today, in answer to delegate Husein Hodzic's question as to who in the SSIP, SSUP, and the Yugoslav People's Army is responsible for cooperation with Romania for the past 10 years.

According to the reply, the SFRY internal affairs organs have no secret agreements with the security services of any country.

Answering Hodzic's question about Vladimir Dapcevic's kidnapping in Romania, the federal government said that in 1975 Dapcevic was arrested on the territory of our country that he had illegally entered. The district court in Belgrade sentenced him to death at the beginning of July in 1976, but the sentence was commuted to a 20-year strict-regime prison sentence.

On Dapcevic's petition in 1985, the SFRY Presidency reduced his sentence by five years, and in July 1988 he was exempted from serving the remainder of his sentence. Subsequently, Dapcevic legally left Yugoslavia; his intention was to settle down in Belgium with his family, said the FEC reply.

In terms of their size, aggression, brutality, and forms of activity, the demonstrations in Kosovo in the period between 26 January and 2 February were of an explicitly destructive nature and carried all the features of a terrorist operation. The demonstrations were organized on a massive scale and were prepared simultaneously in many villages and towns throughout the province. In virtually all the localities where they intervened, in all places, and continually day and night, the members of the security organs were fired on. When pushed back by the advancing mass of people from where shots were fired and who did not heed any warnings, the workers of the security organs were forced to use their firearms in defense of their lives. It could have happened in that situation that some people who had not fired at the police could have been injured by the return of fire especially as it was the tactics of the terrorists to put such people in the front ranks and, hiding behind them, fire at SUP workers.

This is the substance of the federal government's reply to the question asked by a group of delegates from Kosovo as to what the attitude of the FEC is toward the official information provided by some municipalities in Kosovo that the members of the security forces, while intervening in certain localities, overstepped their powers and fired at innocent people who were not demonstrating. [passage omitted]

Preventing and dispersing the demonstrations, the members of the security organs used chemical means—substance Cs—which is manufactured for this very purpose and used both in our country and in other countries. This substance does not have any lasting effects on the health of the people, regarding their sex and age, stated the FEC in reply to the second question by a group of delegates from Kosovo who wanted to know whether it was true that the militia intervened with chemical substances with an impermissible degree of toxicality. [passage omitted]

In connection with an earlier question on war reparations, delegate Husein Hodzic suggested that this question, together with other reports, be discussed during a session of the Foreign Policy Committee and that the committee suggest to the federal chamber what is to be done further. Hodzic suggested the same procedure in connection with the information he sought from the FEC about their knowledge of all the aspects of the regime in Romania. This is why he asked the FEC to provide a supplementary answer to his question in what way and under what conditions Vlado Dapcevic had been kidnapped in that country. [passage omitted]

Bozo Kovac mentioned that the multiparty system in our country is a reality, that elections are imminent, and that we require rules of electoral conduct. Bozo Kovac gave the initiative whereby the Yugoslav Assembly in cooperation of the assemblies in the republics and provinces should organize a meeting of the representatives of all present and future political alliances from all over the country so that they can come to an agreement on their participation regarding their imminent tasks. [passage omitted]

Skopje Newspaper Communists Abolish Own Group

LD1202221190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—Members of the basic League of Communists organization of the editorial board of the Skopje paper VECER today decided unanimously to abolish their own party organization.

According to their explanation, the decision is in keeping with the processes of democratization, pluralism, and the multiparty system. Communists in the Skopje paper VECER also feel journalism should be independent, the political affiliation of a journalist is his own personal decision, and only professionalism and truth are required of the journalist.

Members of the just-abolished basic League of Communists organization of the editorial board of the paper VECER, according to the conclusions of today's meeting, will, if they so desire, in the future realize their links with the party on the basis of territorial connections.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Association Law

LD1302035890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—A selection of forms and manners of political organization of the working people and citizens is, above all, the subject of their free will, so that any one-sided restriction on a possibility for political organization based on work or interests (in enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, self-managing communities) is in contradiction with democratic processes and the practice of work and interest organizations in many democratic countries.

This is the assessment of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC [League of Communists] Central Committee Presidium, which, as stated today, discussed the proposed law on association of citizens and manners of their political organization. The question was raised whether law can (and on basis of which constitutional regulations) restrict political organization in these environments, if their activity does not interfere with working processes and is in accordance with democratic orientations.

In the context of the discussion on the proposed law on citizens' association, the Presidium assesses that the demands for a complete de- monopolization of state institutions should be legally sanctioned, but, should proceed from constitutionally guaranteed human and civil rights and freedoms, including rights concerning free political association.

At today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, chaired by Dr Nijaz Durakovic, the discussion was published about program activities of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC after the break-up of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress. The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee will pass its view about the discussion at its next session.

Bogicevic Holds Talks in Pristina

AU1102170190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 90 p 7

[E. Habul report on SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic's speech to the Pristina political activ reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE; date not given: "Dialogue Does Not Mean Giving In"]

[Text] It is clear and obvious to everyone that the long-term policy in Kosovo cannot be conducted with repressive measures and by increasing the number of security forces there. The way to resolve the Kosovo drama must, in short, be made up of the following: to unconditionally stop the bloodshed by using all means; to separate the quarreling sides and ban uncontrolled destructive behavior by the masses and the use of firearms; stifling the armed uprising does not mean stifling democratic processes and freedoms. This can be discussed under calmer conditions. SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic said this to the Pristina political aktiv.

I am recommending that once the situation calms down, the provincial leadership should immediately take measures to establish dialogue with all those who care about the Yugoslavia's integrity, the reforms, unification, and the full equality of all peoples and nationalities. Conditions cannot be set in a democratic dialogue, no one has the right to undermine the Constitution or to offer concessions to the detriment of the SFRY's entire constitutional and state integrity. I do not in any instance consider the opening of talks (on a platform of democracy, socialism, and the federal structure of Yugoslavia) to be a defeat for a policy or a leadership.

The SFRY Presidency's stands are reflected in the demand that the urgent prevention of bloodshed should not halt the process of economic and political reforms in the country. The Presidency demands that dialogue be established between Serbia and Slovenia as a prerequisite for resolving the whole situation, not only in Kosovo but also in Yugoslavia. It is time for us to show in practice that Kosovo is what it is—the concern and problem of all Yugoslavia.

The comments, assessments of the situation, and the questions that were asked of the Presidency member lasted much longer, which is a measure of average political national feeling. What did the activists say to and ask Bogicevic?

Repression Is Not the Solution

Does the SFRY Presidency desire the use of all forces to resolve the Kosovo drama? Are allegiances between separatists being encouraged from Croatia and Slovenia, and what does the Presidency know about this? Should emergency measures have been introduced in Slovenia after the suspension of the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and if they had been introduced would there have been unrest in Kosovo? Why did no one prevent the Kosovo alternative movements from gathering petitions? What did the "so-called democratic forces" (this means the Kosovo academics, author's note) say in talks with Janez Drnovsek? Why did the SFRY Presidency not prevent the repressive measures that were taken by Albanian

separatists against Serbs and Montenegrins? Should dialogue be established with Slovenia to the detriment of Serbia? Why is the SFRY Presidency vacillating?

We are also highlighting some of Bogic Bogicevic's characteristic replies:

The SFRY Presidency has no proof with regard to the activities and connections between Slovenia and Croatia with the separatists. Dialogue between Serbia and Slovenia does not mean that Serbia has given in. After all, this proposal originated in Serbia. In reply to the question of why the SFRY Presidency is vacillating, Bogicevic said that this organ definitely does bear some of the responsibility, and the republican and provincial leaderships also bear responsibility since security is in their hands. The Presidency has the responsibilities of the supreme command, but the highest organ of authority is the Yugoslav Assembly.

Asked what he considers repressive measures, Bogicevic answered that these were the emergency measures and the combined unit that has been continually stationed in the province for two years, yet there is still no solution. He thus advocates the quicker economic and social development of Kosovo, job creation, and so on, although these tasks are not in the foreground at the moment.

They Do Not Accept the Alternative Groups

Beforehand, there was an interesting and informal talk in the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo between Bogicevic and Gani Jasari and Momcilo Trajkovic on the current situation and the alternative groups.

Trajkovic: Dangerous national homogenization is taking place in the alternative groups. Serbs and Montenegrins do not agree to talk with them.

Jasari: The alternative groups that are on a national basis are not making any headway in Kosovo because they only see the problem of Albanians.

Bogicevic: When I speak about dialogue, I imply that the bloodshed be stopped first. This is a prerequisite for talks with everyone who cares about Yugoslavia's integrity.

Jasari: We have had talks in the Communal Committee of the League of Communists with the alternative groups....

Trajkovic: They attacked us. Reality should be heeded and we should not act as if we have lived in a democracy for 100 years. We have been laughed at by DELO and VJESNIK.

Bogicevic: They are probably not all enemies. One could probably talk to some of them.

Trajkovic: This would only irritate the Serbs and Montenegrins. One could talk about programs, but not with the leaders of the alternative groups, too. One cannot talk with Rugova. We have had talks with Idriz Ajeti and Veton Suroi. However, Ajeti set conditions.

Bogicevic: What is the solution?

Trajkovic: I do not think that we should talk with forces that advocate "Kosovo—Republic." It is out of the question to recognize alternative groups that operate on national bases. This is Kosovo. Only alliances that bring people together are acceptable.

Bogicevic: Of course, groups that advocate a republic or secession cannot be accepted. However, perhaps there are also alternative groups whose programs are progressive and democratic and whose platform is not founded on a national basis.

Trajkovic: The problem is that everything can be packaged in a democratic wrapping. Vuk Draskovic, for example, has many followers in Kosovo.

Will we negotiate with him? If we surrender a little, we lose in Kosovo. The danger is that the League of Communists and the state are becoming increasingly impotent. If we do not become stronger, they will gain a foothold in Kosovo. For example, Ibrahim Rugova last year called the Albanians to arms and is now camouflaging himself in democracy and is in fact calling for a tragedy for the Albanian people.

The Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, for example, has a good platform. However, while Veton Suroi is at the head of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, there can be no talks (he was expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) because Serbs and Montenegrins would rather leave Kosovo than join the Association for a Yugoslav Initiative. If there were new people in authority, then it would be different. You see, they would talk now but the first demand would be for Morina, Gani Jasari, Skender Karahod, and others to go. One cannot talk about this with Rugova. The alternative groups in Kosovo have a large number of adherents. But what does that mean? Majoritarianism. Then we would have a counterattack by the Serbs, demanding that a referendum be held to decide on scrapping the provinces. Free elections here have many consequences.

Markovic Speaks at Belgrade Assembly

LD0202111590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—Once reform has made its way to Kosovo, separatist forces will stand no chance. Knowing this, separatist forces are hoping to take advantage of the present situation to prevent reform from penetrating Kosovo. This was stressed by FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic as he addressed delegates from all of the Belgrade Assembly's chambers. Markovic's appearance and address,

dedicated mainly to implementing the program of economic reform, was met with hearty applauses.

Noting that the FEC has made its stances on the events in Kosovo, Markovic stressed that these stands had been received with much enthusiasm in the country but they had not yet made their way to Kosovo in the right measure. We have done everything to protect the innocent population in Kosovo, something that is in the interest of all—Serbs, Montengrins, honest Albanians who do not favor separatism, and all the other people who live and work in the province. All of them should be granted the opportunity to find their place, via pluralism, within our country's integrity, which is unquestionable.

There is no doubt that these are temporary demands made in an attempt to hamper the reform, because reform is advancing in an unstoppable way. Therefore, all of us should help remove the obstacles, Markovic stressed, after having pointed out that, despite the almost unequivocal support, there is still a great deal of resistance to implementing reform. All those forces that are being stripped of power and privileges because of reform are opposing—but they must end up at the other end. In this context, he mentioned conservative, separatist, and nationalist forces.

Speaking about the realization of the reform program, to which today's session of the capital's assembly was devoted, Markovic noted first that it is necessary to have your finger on the pulse of what is happening, to experience, as he put it, the rhythm of life, because there is no hard-and-fast program, projection, or solution that does not need adjusting.

Each level of any society always raises new issues and new topics. Only an undogmatic approach that, with analysis and dialogue, constantly looks for new and better solutions, will enable us to develop a new society. We are trying to build a new society, and in doing so we have decided on adjustments to a system that has shown itself to be unsuccessful, not only in this country, but also in all countries that built their existence on its basis. We must make general changes to the system and we are now in the process of making these changes, stressed the FEC president.

With the implementation of this program, which being wholly Yugoslav has received full support, one of the most complex projects in the world is being carried out. We alone, if we are sufficiently clever, have the oppportunity of carrying out major changes in society without great dramas, Markovic assessed. In this context, he mentioned the need to build an economically efficient and politically democratic society and to break with all dogmas surrounding ownership. This is the "Eastern sin" of all socialism, which has brought their downfall.

This ownership can yield effects in the atmopshere of an integrated market, where economic subjects are independent and the state and politics have no right to interfere in their internal relations. However, a new state is needed that rejects arbitration but has completly autonomous functions without which no modern society can be constituted and still less function. These functions, Ante Markovic stressed, are in the monetary and fiscal spheres and the sphere of econmic relations with other countries.

The reform on which we have decided embraces everything, from economics, via the state, to the economic system, also opening up political multiparty pluralism. It is essential to develop all human freedoms, without anyone's rights to a monopoly of ideas and opinions, because monopolies have fettered the development of the country and we have paid a high price for this. The implementation of the program for this year is only a means of achieving the real aims, that is the new institutions and mechanisms that have to be built in a healthy atmosphere, Markovic noted.

Despite the predictions that we would be left without foreign currency reserves, these have recently reached about $7 billion. We have ensured the convertibility of the dinar not only for six months, but for at least a year, and taking into account all our expectations in the course of 1990, for the following year as well. Bringing inflation down to low levels should also facilitate the realization of the basic aims of the program. Its main content is new economic, social, and political development. It will be built on new qualities—generating income and market results—and not on state and political voluntarism and the printing of money in Topcider [national mint].

Anything beyond this amounts to seeking answers again in areas where all of socialism has already lost the battle. We must learn our lessons from all of that. This is why we are anticipating many things and are making moves to ensure that we have the initiative in the development of our society and not other forces that would like this country to disintegrate and completely change its character. This why we are maintaining the initiative and suggesting changes all the time. While many in the country have been arguing, we have been working and suffering criticism, but we have achieved something that makes it possible for this country to really emerge from the crisis.

The transition to a new system is impossible without paying the cost for the mistakes of the past. For, there is no measure, system, or program that could take us out of the depths of the crisis we have had for years unless every part of our country, every municipality, city, village, and every citizen contribute to its resolution—Markovic stressed, and he noted that there still was that particular kind of reasoning: Everything is okay but it would be better still if everything passed us by.

At this stage of reform, the principal lever that we are using to manage development in the country is the convertibility of the dinar, which has finally recovered the pride and honor our curency deserves in the country and outside it. Therefore, all economic policies must facilite the protection of the dinar and its convertibility.

Monetary policy should be separated from fiscal and credit policy. The FEC will not let the National Bank of Yugoslavia finance any of the needs of the federation and the FEC—Ante Markovic stressed, adding that the outstanding debt from last year was settled a few days ago at the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

Reflecting on the need for recovery of the banks, the president of the Federal Government said that the federation will participate, via a special agency, in the recovery. A draft law on settling the so-called contaminated credits, accounting for 2.5 billion dollars, has also been proposed.

There will, however, be no gifts for any purpose whatsoever, except for resolving social hardship. The federation will particpate in the recovery of the banks through its agency but it will also accordingly take part in their ownership. Foreign experts, who have worked at recovering over 100 banks, will assist us in analyzing the situation in our banks, and on the basis of this, we will know what is to be done. The first in the pipeline is the Kosovo Bank, which is in the gravest situation. The Titograd Bank and other banks are to follow, the president of the government said. "Subsequent filters" applied to 70 banks have revealed that many of them have misrepresented their results. Arbitrary decisions under political pressure can no longer be made, especially regarding money from the mint. These flows will be cut off with all the consequences that implies.

The FEC advocates a new taxation system, and this is why the economic changes have been proposed. There is no modern state without a unified basis or unified taxation system. Due to our deep differences, we have also opted for a common basis of taxation policies. We must let these differences articulate themselves but the basis must be single. Taxation reform will be carried out in stages. It will strive to reduce the number of taxes and, wherever it is possible, they will be unified and harmonized and existing subsidies and taxes will be merged. One will have to opt for both income tax and value added tax.

Numerous conditions have also been created for reducing prices. There is a small number of those manufacturers that have less than 50 percent profit margin in their prices, Markovic noted as he stressed that deep changes and a stress on the internal economy must take place in the collectives. Not incidentally, this was the exact moment when he also mentioned that in this area there are great potentials for growth, particularly, for productivity and efficiency. Our salaries are low, nevertheless, if our productivity and efficiency are compared to those in some neighboring countries it will turn out that we earn too much. Of course, it is in relation to the way we work and how much we work and what results we achieve.

It is no secret that the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress was unsuccessful. I would not like to debate whether or not it will continue, but as you know I have said, and the FEC later concurred, that Yugoslavia as a state will function whether the League of Communists exists or not. And whether there is one, 10 or I don't know how many parties, I guarantee that Yugoslavia will function, Markovic stressed.

The system that we are building opens this country to the world, and so we must open up to each other as well. We should not permit any boundaries between us. This is why the FEC decided this morning not to appeal but to demand that the Serbian and Slovene Executive Councils sit down and, without preconditions, delve into the past and mutual prejudices, adopt conclusions that will enable the normal functioning of the system of this country, the normal circulation of ideas, people, goods, and capital as the contribution of these two republics to the recovery of the situation in Yugoslavia, stressed the FEC president.

He added that the government expects that the two executive councils will urgently sit down and put all their cards on the table. The FEC is prepared, if necessary, to assist them in this, but we believe that they are mature enough to do this themselves, which would be best, Markovic said.

He underlined that Belgrade, as the important focal point of our country, must, in reforming itself, afford an enormous contribution to the reform of society. The capital must reexamine the structure of its own economy. We need many institutes of learning, trade, banking, many planning organizations. All large towns need this, and Belgrade in particular. The new system that we are building affords the greatest opportunity to the most able, and it is not possible that the concentration of cadres, economic, and other potential that exist in the capital is not capable of having a powerful influence on both its own development, the development of Serbia, and the progress of the SFRY as a whole, stressed Ante Markovic.

The delegates of the Belgrade Assembly today adopted conclusions on the latest events in Kosovo, in which they strongly protest the violence that has once again taken its toll of human lives and support the measures of the SFRY Presidency, the FEC and the Serbian Presidency. They demand that the basic values of an effective law-governed state should definitely become the inalienable property of all citizens in Kosovo as well. They demand that the existing measures and, if necessary, additional activities be energetically implemented until Kosovo becomes completely calm and secure.

It is assessed that the SFRY Presidency, if it does not take measures immediately that will prevent the outbreak of civil war, will bear the full responsibility before all Yugoslavs. The delegates expressed their dismay and protest at what they said was the open support being given to Albanian separatist nationalism by the Slovene leadership and certain leaders in Croatia. We call on all responsible institutions in the country to oppose this "collusion" with the hostile forces in the province and

carry out resolute policies and every other form of differentiation, was the call today.

Albanians in Belgrade feel secure and carry out their work in peace. The Assembly of the capital calls on Albanians in Kosovo to ensure in the same way a peaceful existence for all inhabitants of the province.

The delegates condemned the actions of Chetnik [World War II pro-Serbian anticommunist guerrilla group] and pro-Chetnik elements and their attempts to disturb the population in the capital. The Belgrade Assembly calls on the competent organs to take energetic measures against all hostile forces that are destroying socialist Yugoslavia, threatening its foundations, inflaming hatred, and inciting fratricidal and civil war.